

Polit. Pamph. vol 132.

THE
PATRIOT.
ADDRESSED TO THE
PEOPLE,
ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS
IN BRITAIN AND IN FRANCE.
WITH OBSERVATIONS ON
REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT,
AND DISSCUSSIONS OF THE
PRINCIPLES
ADVANCED IN THE WRITINGS OF
THOMAS PAINE.

*grave ne rediret
Seculum Pyrrhæ nova monstra quaesit.*

HOR.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR J. DICKSON, EDINBURGH, AND G. NICOL,
FALL-MALL, LONDON.

1793.



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THE
P A T R I O T.
ADDRESSED TO THE
PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN,
ON THE
PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

YOUR attention has of late been called off from the peaceful engagements of domestic industry, to discussions on the great subjects of government and legislation. These subjects which involve the interests of millions, have been treated by philosophers of different ages, as matters of high speculation, which are to be approached with all the caution of wisdom and experience. Within these two years, however, it has been discovered, that this was a mistake, and that the science of government, and the art of making constitutions, are level to all capacities. Nay, we are informed, that the people

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ple of this country have been under mistakes still more unaccountable. Our fathers believed, and we imagined and boasted, that we were free and happy, that we enjoyed privileges which distinguished Britons among the nations of Europe, that we possessed a constitution, which, combining the benefits of the various simple forms of government, avoided the peculiar inconveniences of the monarchical, the aristocratical, and the democratical plans. We concluded, that to this constitution we owed the greatness to which we have risen among the nations, and the inherent strength which has enabled us to withstand such shocks, as no other country could have survived, and to extend our influence to the extremities of the globe. It is only four years since this whole nation observed a great day of jubilee, and joined in thanksgiving to God, for those distinguished blessings which we and our fathers had for one hundred years enjoyed from the period of the Revolution. But to our great surprise and mortification, we are now told that we have been mistaken all along, that we are, and always have been, miserable and enslaved, though this was kept a secret; that we have no privileges (excepting perhaps the privilege of reviling our rulers, and of promoting sedition), that there is no such thing in Britain as a constitution at all,---that the Revolution in 1688 was no better than a farce,---that the men who conducted that transaction were usurpers, and that we have yet to begin the whole work of framing a government for the people of this Island.

These most unexpected articles of intelligence have been brought to this country by Thomas Paine, a subject, as he says, of the American States, who owns his inveterate hostility to Britain during

ing her war with France, Spain, Holland, and America, and his intention to have come over to London at that period, to sow dissention in the country, by anonymous pamphlets, had he not been diverted from his purpose by his apprehension of the gallows*. The same Thomas Paine, who at this moment pleads the freedom of the press as ascertained by the constitution of Britain, and his right in law to lay his challenge against the nomination of the jury by which he is to be tried, in the prosecution instituted against him by the Attorney General†; his very pleas of defence under the charge of defaming and libelling the British government, being founded on the recognition of such purity and equity in that government, as are unknown in any other country, and such pleas as he durst in no other nation have put in writing; but he is aware that there is a dignity and steadiness in the administration of law in Britain, which will not outstep its limits, even to reach the alien libeller of its own foundations.

Permit me, my countrymen, to address you on the topics which have now been brought under general discussion, and to state without reserve those sentiments which are the result of some inquiry into the principles of government, and which are suggested with peculiar force, by an attachment to that constitution, which every Briton who knows it, will wish to preserve as the most precious inheritance of his children.

The Revolution of France was from its commencement a subject of interesting attention to

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* Rights of Man, p. 11. chap. 5. note.

† Vide Address to the Addressers.

the inhabitants of Britain. As the sons of freedom, we felt a generous satisfaction in the success of the patriots, who took their stand on the ground of resistance, and who first ventured to utter in the land of slavery, these terms of British origin, *the Rights of Man, and a Constitution*. We forgot the hostility which our enemy had shewn to us for ages; we waved the recollection of her unprovoked and perfidious interference in the American war; we saw a great people reclaiming the inheritance of men, and boldly aspiring to be free. We knew the value of a blessing which we had long possessed in its fulness and perfection: a blessing which is not diminished, but secured by communication to others. We looked forward, therefore, with joyful anticipation to the time when the monarchy of France should be restricted by permanent limitations, and when the slave finally rescued from oppression, should be able to say to an Englishman, I am now your brother. We knew, however, the magnitude of the work which the patriots of France had undertaken. Our fathers when they bequeathed to us the inheritance, charging us before God and men to preserve it unaltered, and to transmit it safely to our children, told us at the same time the price which the purchase had cost them; and shewed us *that for a Nation to be free it is NOT sufficient that she wills it.*

The liberties of Britain were the hard earned fruits of many a lengthened, eventful and bloody contest. After the overthrow of Charles, the fate of this island hung in peril for an age. The demons of faction and of civil discord shed their influence over the land, and blasted the hopes of the people. The sceptre was broken, and a bloody

bloody sword appeared in its place. The house of Peers was dissolved, and a board of Major Generals in arms became the organ of judicature and legislation. The House of Commons was purged, by turning out every honest man who in public or private had expressed a sentiment of opposition; and when it was found that even this expedient had not secured unanimity or peaceable submission, in an assembly of men who were divided into civil parties and religious factions; when the whig opposed the leveller, and when Episcopal, Presbyterians, and Independents, became unmanageable in their strife, the representative branch of the Legislature was wholly ejected, and instead of a constitution, the hypocrite Cromwell surrounded by his Janissaries, remained Dictator, Lawgiver, and Judge of the British nation.

The period of the last century in which the republic stood, was the period of the extinction of liberty. The administration of government was vigorous indeed, like that of Muley Ishmael or Tippoo Saib. The spies and agents of the Protector were every where, and the executioners followed in their train. The nation found, to their sorrow, that instead of gaining new privileges under the Republic, they had lost the few which the family of Stuart had respected; that in their eagerness to obtain a sudden relief, they had incurred hopeless destruction; and that, instead of the free constitution, and the reign of the saints, which their leaders had promised, they had obtained a Dey and a Divan, modelled after the pattern of the republic of Algiers.

The spirit of the nation, however, was not to be at once reduced to the standard of implicit and eternal submission. The bosoms of Britons swelled

led in secret with indignation and grief. They knew that the system of the times did not admit of amendment; for the temper of democratic leaders will in no case brook an open discussion of their measures. Instant and fatal vengeance would have been the recompense of an attempt even to expostulate with this description of men. One alternative only remained,---to leave Britain a perpetual prey to the anarchy of factions, varied only by the despotism of popular leaders, as they might rise in succession; or, to undo the whole work, to relinquish even the advantages which the patriots in the long parliament had obtained, before their final quarrel with Charles: to bring back the exiled family with all their faults unchecked, and to submit to arbitrary power in an uniform and peaceful course, instead of the blind violence of anarchy, and the despotism of upstart ruffians, which flesh and blood could bear no longer. In this situation, our forefathers, with the whole case before them, aware of the necessity which reduced them to the choice of two evils, both of which they had experimentally known, and had balanced in their minds in silence, and in the bitterness of their souls, arose, and with unanimous voice recalled the House of Stuart. Come, said they to Charles II. and save us from this monster, a Republic: Your fathers whipped us with rods, but it hath tormented us with scorpions!

Our ancestors, in determining upon the Restoration, were sensible of the difficulties in their situation. They were not indifferent to the interests of posterity; they were not ignorant of the hazards to which they should be exposed from the demons of divine right, passive obedience and non-resistance,

resistance, which had transmigrated from father to son through the whole dynasty of Stuart ; but to effect a retreat from Hell, even back into Purgatory, was wise and able generalship in their situation. They flattered themselves, in the case of Charles II. that his experience of adversity, and the reflections which might have been familiarised to his mind in his years of exile, on the causes of his father's ruin, might have prepared him to respect the franchises of Britons, and liberty founded upon law. But whatever might befall them and theirs in this respect, they had made up their minds, that to abide the utmost hazard was their duty and their interest ; that they had something to gain, and nothing to lose by the Restoration.

The Restoration was accordingly effected with a good grace. Thinking men concealed their apprehensions of the future, and joined the shouts and applauses of the multitude. The 29th of May was ordered to be observed as a holiday for ever, because the people of England had recovered a government as good as those of France, Spain, or Portugal ; in which the people might be oppressed within some known bounds, and their persons and property guarded to a certain extent, and secured from violence in every quarter, excepting that which might issue from the throne ; instead of remaining longer exposed to the buffetings of faction, and to the dagger of every villain who might mount on the shoulders of the mob, and bear destruction into all the walks of life. Thus our ancestors, yet bleeding from the wounds which they had received under a democracy and democratical usurpers, bore an ardent protest, in their extremity, against republican misrule, by submitting

ting to a system of which they knew the evils, rather than remain in that chaos, of which the horrors baffled alike description and calculation.

The best Whigs in the nation concurred in the measure which restored Charles, without terms or limitations: Their principles were not altered; but the last necessity required, that the people of Britain should, at any price, be redeemed from a republican slavery. They hoped, perhaps, that in the course of events, limitations might gradually be established, by which individual liberty might be sanctioned, consistently with that public order, which every man in the nation was now convinced depended on the stability of the throne. Charles II. was in appearance a man of gaiety and pleasure; but at bottom he was a knave and a bigot. The scope of his politics was, to give a fashion to dissipation, to throw around himself and his court the veil of pleasantries, that, under this cover, he might take measures to break the influence of the Whigs, to entail an uncontrouled sway, and to establish Popery in Britain. His purposes gradually appeared, and his persecuting arm was felt in various quarters of the island. His reign was justly considered as the most dangerous period to the principles of liberty which had ever been known in Britain; and a successor of the same stamp might have extinguished the cause for ever. Happily for the nation, his brother James, who next succeeded to the throne, was weak and imprudent; and happily for the nation, also, he was an intolerant bigot in favour of Popery. He directly asserted his divine right to arbitrary power, and to compel his subjects to think and to worship God in his way, and in no other. He oppressed his Protestant subjects in England, and

persecuted the Presbyterians in Scotland, with penalties, confiscations, fire and sword. The nation was roused by actual and intolerable oppression. The whole weight of Protestantism was thus attached to the principles of civil liberty. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and commons, united in the general cause of the kingdom. They invited an auxiliary force from Holland, under the Prince of Orange, and upon substantiated proofs that James had broken the original compact between King and People, and had infringed the fundamental laws of the realm, it was voted by both Houses of Parliament, that he had abdicated the government, or as the Scotch Parliament more clearly expressed it, had forfeited the Crown, and that the throne was now vacant.

The object of this recapitulation of English history, my countrymen, is to call your attention to the steps which your fathers took in this second great exigence of state. The Prince of Orange kept at a distance from the Houses of Parliament, during their deliberations on the state of the nation, and on the the arrangements to be made for the future happiness of Britain. The discussions lasted for many weeks; the procedure was regular and dignified; never was a great assembly engaged in so important a concern. It was not enough to have got quit of James; it was necessary to eradicate the principle which had made him and his ancestors scourges to this nation. But was there a single member of Parliament who proposed that the throne should *remain* vacant, or that the nation should attempt to go on without a monarchy and a hereditary settlement in time coming? Such a proposition would have been treated with scorn by the whole assembly. Was there even a pamphleteer of the times who would

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hint this to the public? Or a man in a club or a company who would hazard as a speculation to revert to a republic? He would have been hooted by his neighbours, and considered as an idiot. The remembrance of the past was too fresh in their memories: it was but twenty-eight years since they had seen the republic buried, and the execrations of a whole people poured upon its grave;---even its ghost at midnight durst no more meet the frown of an Englishman.

The Parliament framed the bill of rights; not the rights of man as a solitary independent savage; but the rights of Englishmen, in the social compact, and in civilized life; who knew that subordination was essential to freedom. They established the limitations under which the sceptre should be swayed. They secured the privileges of the two Houses of Legislature, and the franchises of the country for ever; and fixing the hereditary succession in the Protestant line, they completed their work, by making the Crown the key stone of the arch of the constitution.

It was to this *constitution*, matured in some of its branches by the wisdom of ages, and perfected by the Revolution settlement, in the legal limitations of the monarchical branch, that our ancestors *submitted themselves and their posterities for ever*. They were not aware of the reproaches which Thomas Paine would throw upon them for this. If, as he says, he is a subject of America, he has neither part nor lot in this matter, which lies between our fathers and us. But for us, we say that they then gave us their blessing in the fear of God; and that we have accepted it; and that while a drop of their blood runs in our veins, no power on earth shall bereave us of it. The inheritance is not a temporary or provisional grant; it is to us and ours for ever. It is not a thing to be

thrown aside in a whim ; till ten millions of people shall send their deputies to agree, or rather to quarrel about what government we shall have next. When our ancestors carried to the Prince of Orange the bill of rights in one hand, and the crown in the other, they declared the permanency of the transaction ; submitting themselves and their posterity for ever, to regular government,---to social order, ---to the reign of the laws,---to hereditary limited monarchy,---and the British constitution. Renouncing no privilege ; but renouncing for themselves and for us, all right which either the many or the few might ever claim, to bring us again under the wrath and curse, whether of republican anarchy, or of arbitrary power. But say our modern clubs, on the authority of Thomas Paine, What right had our ancestors to bind us ? Are we not always free to choose what government we please ? They might speak for themselves, but they are all dead, and it is a void obligation which they attempted to entail on another race. Gentlemen, your fathers, many of whom are dead, presumed to do more than this, and spoke also for you in another case : They presented you before God in your infancy ; they renounced for you the devil, the world, and the flesh : They took you engaged in baptism to serve God, and to believe in Christ, and to obey the laws of religion ; did they injure you by this assumption of power over your choice ? Have you then a right to become heathens or infidels as you think fit ? So say the French democrats, who have avowedly abandoned both religion and civil government.

The maxim of the clubs, that a whole nation have at all times a right to alter their government as they please, is a fallacy grounded on a quibble. It is the mistake of a *power* for a *right* ; there may be a *power* to do *wrong*, but a *right* to do *wrong*

is a contradiction. A whole nation is at any time able to destroy its government, as a man has a power to set fire to his house. But has any man or set of men a right to do every thing which they are able to do, whether good or bad? Had the French mob a right to massacre the Swiss guards? Have the soldiers of Anselm a right to plunder, to stab, and to ravish in the territory of Nice! A right is a moral term, restricted in its meaning to things which are equitable and good. Our ancestors had a right to depose James, because he was a tyrant on principle, and laid this very claim to a right to do whatever he pleased. And they had a right to frame the Revolution settlement, in that glory and perfection in which they effected it, because it was a great and a good work; and they declared this transaction as binding on posterity, not merely because it was a deed of their making, for they could not have bound us to our harm; but because it was a treasure, and an inheritance of inestimable value, which they had obtained for us by their public virtues, and their prayers to God; and because our felicity as a nation, and the interest of our descendants, are in pledge for its faithful preservation. This obligation which they recognised, was involved in the justice and utility of the measure, and the security of liberty and property, and of the rights of Britons, which it bore in its bosom to succeeding generations.

Here again Thomas Paine, an emigrant from America, where his principles were reckoned dangerous to the constituted authorities, comes forward with a fresh charge against the Revolution Parliament. They were quite wrong, says he, and did not understand their duty. They ought to have called a convention of delegates elected
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by the whole people, to form a constitution. Now I refer to every man of sense the following questions on this point.---Would not a measure like this have been an assumption of power by that Parliament, infinitely greater than framing the bill of rights, establishing the limitations of the Crown, and fixing the Protestant succession? Was not such a convention of delegates so chosen, a thing unknown in the constitution, in the law, and in the practice of this country? Had the Parliament a right to extinguish the constitution, because the throne was vacant? To find that there was no existing authority in Britain, and with the same breath to order by their own authority a poll election to be made by ten millions of people, and to define the mode in which this should be conducted? If they were competent to all this, they were competent to have sunk the state under Turkish despotism, or had they been wicked enough, to have tossed it in the convulsions of French anarchy. Had they attempted a wild project like this, how could they have looked their constituents in the face? We confided in you, the people would have said, in your wisdom and your virtue: We looked up to you as the depositaries of the national power; we trusted that you would guard our political interests, and would not have cut down the constitution, because a branch had rotted and had dropped off. You have left us and ours to the clashing counsels of fools and demagogues; to the arrogance of bullies, let loose from the bonds of subordination; You have exposed a whole people, as if we had been a vast shipwrecked crew, cast upon this island, to choose our rulers, in circumstances in which every man would be a sovereign, and none consent to obey.

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The approbation of the people at large was the last sanction of the Revolution settlement. Their representatives, and the whole constituted authorities in Great Britain, have, for above an hundred years, given the real ratification to the terms which declared its permanency. The nation adhering to this settlement has crushed two rebellions by which it has been assailed ; and the majority of all ranks authorising even to this hour, by an uninterrupted consent, that great transaction, which has secured the prosperity of this country for a century, is still ready to guard the charter, and to protect it against the unhallowed touch, either of licentiousness or of despotism.

Mr. John Adams, Vice-President of the American States, in his letters of remonstrance against the principles of Paine, which he considers as hostile to the American Government, as well as to every free and regular constitution, has happily expressed the dictates of good sense on the point immediately before us. " I have assumed as a principle," says he, " that the English nation, having delegated all their collective power, have no right, in their original character, to change their form of government, unless it has become absolutely inadequate to the purposes for which it was instituted. The people themselves must, from the necessity of the case, be the judges of this fact ; but if, in forming this judgment, and acting in pursuance of it, they proceed from faction, and not from principle, if they dissolve their compact from an idea that ' they have a right to do whatever they choose,' and break the bands of society because such is their pleasure, they may indeed go through the operation by the plenitude of their irresistible power, but the nation will meet with ample punishment in
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“ their own misery, and the leaders who delude
 “ them, in the detestation of their own posterity.
 “ It is not by adopting the malignity of a politi-
 “ cal satyrift, by converting the fallies of wit into
 “ the maxims of truth and justice, or by magni-
 “ fying trivial imperfections into capital crimes,
 “ that a nation will be justified in reforting to its
 “ original strength, to contend againft its dele-
 “ gated power. It is not a mechanical horror
 “ againft the name of a king, or of aristocracy,
 “ nor a physical antipathy to the found of an ex-
 “ travagant title, or to the fight of an innocent
 “ ribbon, that can authorife a people to lay vio-
 “ lent hands upon the constitution, which pro-
 “ tects their rights, and guards their liberties.
 “ They must feel an actual deprivation of their
 “ equal rights, and fee an actual impossibility for
 “ their reftoration in any other manner, before
 “ they can have a right to lay their hands on
 “ their fwords, and appeal to Heaven.”

The Englifh, fays Mr. Paine, boast of their
 constitution ; but when you ask to fee it, they
 have none ; it is invifible ; it is a chimera. In
 America, fays he, when any question arofe about
 the constitution, it was ufual for fome of the com-
 pany to pull it out of their pockets, and read the
 claufe referred to. Mr. Paine, who boasts of his
 own experience and eminence in constitution-
 making, conceives a constitution to be a pamph-
 let, and that it can exift in no other fhape. The
 constitution of the American government is in-
 deed delineated in this form. The French Con-
 ftituent Affembly made a pamphlet, which they
 termed the constitution ; but the fyftem which it
 contained was found to be impracticable, and the
 pamphlet is now juft fo much wafte paper. The
 New Convention are, it is faid, compofing a fe-
 cond pamphlet with this title, which a few months
 will,

will, in like manner, deliver up to the pastry-cooks; for the types of a real constitution for France are not yet cast in the foundery. Was the constitution of Athens, or of Rome, contained in a pamphlet? With regard to this country, though the author should pick all our pockets, he will not find the British constitution there; nor will he be able, though he had Barrington's skill, to filch it from the strong holds where we have secured it. It lies in the hearts of the people of this land, as a system of principles; and in its forms, it is registered in the statutes at large, in the journals of Parliament, in the common law, in the decisions of our courts, in the history of our country. In these venerable archives, it may be contemplated as it sprung from our Saxon ancestors, as it was nursed by the wisdom of ages, as it survived the perils to which it was exposed, from both its republican and despotic enemies, till it acquired its strength and glory at the Revolution.

The Revolution, while it secured and sealed the constitution of this country, did not place a bar against farther improvements; on the contrary, by recognising and asserting the plenary power of the constitutional Legislature, instead of a government crippled and handcuffed by the tumultuary acts of conventions, for which Paine and his disciples plead, it cleared the path for gradual and progressive improvements, as they might be adopted by posterity, according to the growing perfection of political science, and the vigorous operation of the principles of the constitution itself, in the course of events.

The competency of the ordinary Legislature to every possible contingency, is the circumstance which not only introduces improvements in their proper seasons, but which secures, in behalf of the nation, the exercise of that wisdom and caution

tion with which alterations are at all times to be adopted. The Legislature of Britain is not exposed, like the French Assembly, to the hazard of headlong innovation in matters of the utmost magnitude, where motions affecting the essence of government are prepared and decreed in a breath, with clapping of hands instead of deliberation; and where 1200 representatives disfranchised themselves with the brevity of a *buzzza*, and deprived the people of the right of re-electing any one of them. The Legislature, in a regular government, is naturally slow in acceding to change, and receives, with a wholesome jealousy, every proposition which aims at altering the usual course of society in any important branch. The clubs call this obstinacy; but it is the prudence of experience, and is essential to the safety of the great system. Every proposition made to a popular assembly, comes forward with plausible arguments; and every projector thinks his own scheme self-evident in its justice, and demonstrable in its instant expediency. But the interests of a great people are not to be sported with as in a tennis-court, and tossed by every fool's racket. There is in a certain degree a repugnance to innovation which ought to characterise established governments, and which is found, in effect, to operate in every regular community, as well as in the houses of parliament, until time and inquiry shall have rendered the expediency undoubted. *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, said the ancient barons, when new projects in government were proposed to their acceptance. This principle is absolutely necessary to the stability of civil order; and therefore a man, in civil trust, is taught by his very situation to feel its influence. At the same time, it is equally clear, that every proposed change of measures, or of system, is not to be finally rejected merely because it is an innovation; for many of the best institutions on earth were once innovations; and when a government is radically vicious and oppressive, like that of the Turkish empire, or the

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old government of France, where there is nothing to lose, and something to gain, there is no imprudence in frankly attempting reforms. But the principle is soundly pleaded thus far, that where the public order guarantees, in all essential points, the liberty and property of the people, it becomes the duty of the men who are entrusted with the power of the state, to look on innovation with jealousy, and to proceed in it with caution, where there is much to lose, and where the advantage is but a problem, as yet untried in practice.

The British Legislature, under the spirit of wisdom and patriotism with which it was regenerated at the Revolution, has proceeded by sure and gradual steps in the work of improvement; a work to which it has shewn itself equal, in which it has been as forward as prudence would admit, availing itself, for this end, of every proper combination of circumstances, and in which it has made many happy advances, without being chargeable with one false step, in respect of constitutional law, during the lapse of a century.

The first constitutional improvement after the Revolution, settlement, and one which emanated from its principles, was the Act of Toleration, 1st William and Mary, session 2. which proceeded just as far in ascertaining religious freedom as the times would bear, and no farther. It was the first step in a progress, and it had great merit, as this form of freedom was new to the law of England. And when the nation shall be ripe for the admission of a degree of religious liberty which even the word *toleration* is inadequate to express, there is reason to expect that the Legislature will be as ready as the people can wish, to vindicate the sacred honours of religion.

The act abolishing the feudal jurisdictions in Scotland, to which the rebellion 1745 gave the immediate occasion, was another improvement on the constitution. By this act, every power by which the aristocracy of the country could injure or oppress the people

ple was removed, and the subjects, even to the most remote parts of the island, were brought individually and entirely under the protection of the laws of the land. The principle of gradual and sure improvement in the British constitution, may be traced in the history of the law relative to the judges of the country; a point of the utmost consequence to the interests of liberty and property. By ancient usage, the judges had held their offices only during pleasure. In this situation, in causes where the ministry were supposed to take any interest, and particularly in Crown causes, there existed a temptation to partiality against the subject, too great for his safety in the courts of law. Thus, under the kings of the House of Stuart, the judges had been frequently found servile and corrupt, and had conducted the persecuting and unjust schemes of these princes, to the reproach of the very name of judicature. In the Revolution settlement, there was no occasion to specify this abuse, because the spirit of that great transaction, and the invigorating impulse which it spread through the whole constitution, was destined to correct this, and all particular wrongs, in the regular course of its operation. I give the history of this improvement in the words of Sir William Blackstone, Book I. c. 7. “ In order to
 “ maintain both the dignity and independence of the
 “ judges in the superior courts, it is enacted, by statute
 “ 13 William III. c. 2. that their commission shall be
 “ made (not as formerly, *durante bene placito*, but)
 “ *quamdiu bene se gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but that it may be lawful to remove them on the address of both houses of parliament. And now, by the noble improvements of
 “ that law in the statute of 1 Geo. III. c. 23. enacted
 “ at the earnest recommendation of the king himself
 “ from the throne, the judges are continued in their
 “ offices during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any demise of the Crown (which was formerly held immediately to vacate their seats); and
 “ their

“ their full salaries are absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions ; his Majesty having been pleased to declare, that “ he looked upon the independence and uprightness of the judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice ; as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects, and as most conducive to the honour of the Crown.”

Many other instances might be mentioned, in which the constitution, both by the weight of decisions which it has inspired, and by acts of parliament growing out of its principles, has proceeded in the regular order of improvement. I might specify the abolition of general warrants ; the disqualification of officers of revenue from voting in elections ; the effect of the acceptance of an office created before the 1705 to vacate the seat of a member of parliament, and to send him back to his constituents, that they may judge if he is still entitled to their confidence ; and the effect of the acceptance of an office created since the 1705, not only to vacate the seat, but to render the possessor wholly ineligible to parliament. I might mention the act of last session of parliament, ascertaining the power of juries in questions of libels, and the liberal constructions which the uniform train of decisions has given to the *habeas corpus*. But we all know and feel the state of the country on the whole, that every act affecting the constitutional law since the Revolution ; and, more especially, since the accession of the House of Hanover ; and, most remarkably, during the reign of King George III. has been in favour of the liberty of the subject ; that this is the grand channel in which the constitution directs its salutary influence ; and that we do, at this day, possess more personal liberty, and more privileges, by a great deal, than our ancestors enjoyed in periods nearer to the Revolution. A system which contains in itself the principle and the means of improvement, will, by gradual progress, attain a degree of perfection, infinitely greater than any scheme

scheme which the wisest men on earth could frame at once ; for it ripens by the wisdom of successive ages, availing itself of the sound lessons of experience.

Thinking men will own that there is yet room for further improvements in Britain ; it is true : No system framed by men is absolutely perfect. But we see and enjoy a constitution by far the most favourable to the security, the freedom, and the comfort of every individual, that ever was known on this globe. We see in this constitution what no other political system ever exhibited, a tendency to its improvement, woven in its substance, and operating incessantly in this direction, with a steady and undeviating course. And we see a legislature competent to every object of reform ; trained to the work of improvement, by acting upon this system ; though happily prudent and deliberate even in the work of removing defects ; deaf to the precipitate counsels of every apprentice in politics, and availing themselves of the operation of time, both to smooth over the touches which they give to the building, and to bring forward, in their proper course, the seasons and opportunities for improving its accommodation, or adding to its ornaments.

If the mode of conducting elections in boroughs requires to be reviewed ; if the qualifications of voters in counties admit of being modified and defined in a different manner from what has formerly been in practice ; if some existing remnants of feudal evils, such as the law of perpetual entails in Scotland, are now found to be peculiarly unsuitable to a growing commerce ; if the test and corporation acts should be found by experience to be as useless to the Church of England as they are grievous to the dissenters---the genius of the constitution is able to discover the evils, if such they are, and the Legislature is competent to remove them, and is solely and exclusively competent to judge of the times and the seasons when such acts can be performed, consistently with the security of the system itself, and with the

the interests of a great people solemnly entrusted to its charge.

*Look now on this picture, and on this * !*

France has staked what government she had, in the lottery of revolutions, and her ticket has come out a blank. The old government of France had no principle of improvement in its frame, nor any principle at all but that of arbitrary power, which pervaded every part of the nation, and haunted every walk of life. There was law, indeed, in France ; but one part of the nation was above its reach, and another below its protection. The lives and liberties of the subjects individually were at the mercy of ministers, princes of the blood, prostitutes and retainers of the Court. The persons and property of the people were harassed at the discretion of farmers of the revenue, whom the government and tribunals supported through right and through wrong ; and of manerial lords possessing local and despotic jurisdiction. The prisons were filled with persons against whom no accusations were pretended ; but who were seized on the authority of *Lettres de cachet*, at the application of any powerful relations. The kingdom swarmed with spies of the Court, who could gratify their own malice or revenge, by reports of their enemies, which were always credited. An heedless expression in a coffee-house, a censure of a public measure, or a sneer at a strumpet, might hurry an unhappy man from his family, and his home, to the silent caverns of the Bastille, where it was not permitted even to inquire after his fate. The soldiers insulted the citizens daily, and with impunity. Companies of officers, in the boxes of the theatres in the provincial towns, if at any time their absurd behaviour had provoked the laughter of the audience, have been known to draw their swords, to charge the unarmed citizens in the pit, and run through the

* Hamlet.

the body as many as were within their reach ; and all this without punishment or redress*. The whole was a system of iniquity, of complex, rivetted and hopeless oppression. The French, a lively and ingenious people, were degraded in the intellectual scale below the rank in which nature had fitted them to appear. The upper circle in society had thrown around it a magic fence, which the commoner could not surmount, which checked the ambition and energy of the spirit, and left the spring of the mind to waste itself on trifles ; on dances, and opera songs, and gallantry ; on the study of an head dress, the fashion of a slipper, or the form of a snuff-box.

At length, a great combination of circumstances brought forward the opportunity of procuring a change of system ; a new sound was wafted by the breezes over every province, inviting Frenchmen to reclaim for themselves and for their country the character and majesty of freedom. The king had been obliged to call the States General, an assembly which had not met for a long period of time, and was in its structure analogous to a British parliament, consisting of nobility, clergy, and commoners. It was understood in all France, and every member of the states felt in the impressions of his own mind, that the finances, though the first, would not be the only or the principal object of attention ; and that the assembly would, by the circumstances of the times, be led on to new constitutional arrangements. Nay, a new system for the security of the subjects, and the protection of the national interests in time coming, was understood by the king to be necessary ; and he was ready to concur in any wise and moderate measures for these purposes. The representatives of the nation, and even the leaders, were unskilled in the science of a constitution, and wholly unaccustomed to political discussions. Advices and opinions were tendered from different quarters, and suggested in conferences in this critical period. Among other schemes, the British constitution was proposed

* e. g. At Beauvais, in 1786.

proposed as a model, recommended by the proof which it had exhibited for ages of its clear efficacy to secure the rights and comforts of a whole people, and to give strength, and wealth, and greatness, to a nation,---there was reason to believe, that in this specific reform, the king would have acquiesced; and when the states met in separate chambers, in their different orders, the form of the British constitution seemed at once to be obtained. The vision came forward for a moment to the view of France; but it soon vanished in the blackening of the clouds. The permanency of a constitution depends on the hold which it possesses in the hearts of the people, and on its adaptation to their principles and views, rather than on any intrinsic strength in the forms of its arrangement. France was not yet ripe for a British constitution; she had not paid for it, and won it as our ancestors had done. The principles of the higher orders were not yet brought to acknowledge and to support that great idea of universal freedom, under which the laws speak with impartial voice to all ranks, reaching to the highest, their firm controul, and taking the lowest under their secure protection *.

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* The Count d' Artois ruined the nation in its great crisis, by taking different ground from that on which the King was willing to have stood, and turning the stream of politics into the wrong direction. The House of the Commons, or third estate, whose patriotism and good conduct, at the opening of this great cause, cannot be questioned, perceived two leading circumstances at Versailles, which put the British constitution out of their reach, and reduced them to the immediate necessity of attempting to save France upon a different and more dubious plan. On the one side, they perceived that the chamber of the nobility were not disposed or prepared to perform with good faith the functions of an House of Peers, to concur with the Commons in those acts of legislation, which might fix permanent limitations on the Crown, secure the liberties of the people, and guard the great principles and balance of the constitution; and that they were still less disposed to sacrifice their manerial claims of feudal servitude and jurisdiction, and to bear power in the state, only in their house of assembly, without any aristocratical authority as individual subjects. Until the nobility should concur with the views of the leaders of the Commons in these articles, it was impossible that the constitution could be balanced, or the liberties of France secured. By time and negotiation, the patriots, with the nation on their side, might have gained their objects, and the wounds of France might have been healed; but the other circumstance which the house of the third estate saw, prevented all negotiation, and brought every thing

The constituent assembly drew up a form of government, such as they could in the circumstances in which they stood : They set the machine in motion ; but one wheel was wanting altogether, another was shattered, there was neither balance nor solidity in the machine itself, and it would not go on : it plunged and floundered through the mud for a while, till it came down with a crash, and broke to pieces.

The constitution formed by the first national assembly could not go on ; for it wanted *power*, it wanted *influence*, and it wanted *principle*. These are three distinct ideas and they should be considered separately.

I. It wanted *power*.---The limitations upon monarchy, which from mild governments, are not meant to lessen the power and activity of the state, but to restrain it within the bounds prescribed by the laws. While in its defined sphere, the arm of the executive government ought to be as potent and irresistible, as if it were the arm of the nation itself. And this is the very idea of mild and limited government, to be irresistible in doing good, in protecting the individual, in suppressing mischief and violence, and in repelling every foreign enemy ; but to be impotent to evil, and bound to revere the legal privileges of the subjects.

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thing to instant and premature decision. The Count d' Artois, with equal treachery and madness, brought forward a military force to surround and overawe the assembly. The patriots in the House of Commons stood firm ; they did what the exigence of the moment required : They voted the assembly in one chamber ; they invited the nobles to join them in the same assembly, which was decreed to be the whole representation of France. The storm of the Bastille by the inhabitants of Paris drove away Artois, and scattered his forces. The Assembly was delivered from personal hazard ; but the die was thrown ; the constitution was maimed in its birth ; and the resentment of the people and of the commons, and the temper of the times, did not permit the establishment of a system for France on that broad basis which is essential to national prosperity ; for such a system, besides the representatives of the people, absolutely requires the separate legislative rights of the peers, and the due authority and dignity of the crown.

The experiment was fairly made and tried in France, and the result furnishes a lesson of instruction to every great nation which aims at freedom, order, and peace.

But the French not only deprived the executive of the power of doing harm ; they also and as effectually disabled it from doing good. The king and his ministers could do nothing,---they saw the growing disorders of the nation,---they remonstrated with the assembly on the necessity of giving strength to the arm of government ; but without effect. The authorities as they were constituted, were unable to resist the plunderers and insurgents who were spreading fire and assassination over the country ; they felt themselves incompetent to restore discipline to the army, or to make head against those powers who were preparing to invade the kingdom.

Nay, the assembly itself had not power to give that support to the king, which they knew the safety of the nation required. It was overawed by the Jacobin club, an association of licentious and blackguard republicans, who, standing up under the patronage of the *canaille*, and taking the lead of the mob of Paris, were more really legislators than the assembly themselves. The Jacobins had new projects in view, and to these they sacrificed the constitution. It is true, the constitution was not worth the saving, from the moment that it was unable to contend with the Jacobins.

II. The French government formed by the constituent assembly wanted *influence*.---A man may be induced to do his duty in his station, and to serve his country, either by compulsion or by inclination. Under despotic governments, compulsion is the only means employed ; the public is served, but the individuals are degraded and enslaved. In limited governments, compulsion is adopted no farther than necessity and equity require ; that is, it is employed to prevent injury and wrong, and to secure the public peace, and the general safety. In free governments, therefore, where men act according to their choice in most occasions of life, it is necessary, that the stream
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of general *inclination* should be preserved on the side of the constitution. But how shall this be effected? By patriotism you will say.---It is well: The principle is noble, and is powerful. It can sustain and lead a whole nation in the crisis of impending danger, or in the shock of invasion. But in the ordinary current of government, this principle rises not into its enthusiastic strength with the body of the subjects at large, though in the bosoms of many virtuous individuals it may continue to glow with unabated ardour. Hence the necessity in free governments of an auxiliary system of influence, in aid of public virtue. Yes, my countrymen, let bold truths be spoken, since this is the order of the day. And I say in the testimony of a good conscience, and as induced by a patriotism which is my pride and glory as a Briton, that a system of influence is necessary to a free government; that the want of this system enervated the constitution of the French assembly 1791; that the same cause holds the nation of France at this time in ruins; and that the destruction of that system in any country, will infer unavoidably the loss of its freedom and its peace. The millennium is not yet come; it is not the saints only for whom the governments of the earth are intended, but mankind, in mixed society, with all their varieties of disposition, and with all their imperfections; and it must be a powerful spring of action which will carry them on in an uniform and salutary course. But what is this system of influence, say the reformers of the day, is it not corruption? The farthest from it in the world: Corruption and bribery are the excrescences and blemishes sometimes appended to this system, but they have no relation to its essence. Corruption gives men an interest to do wrong, but the system of influence is that which makes it every man's interest to do right, to be a virtuous citizen, and to make the full exertion of his talents in his proper sphere, and suggests the permanent mo-

tives of good conduct in the same course which the truest patriotism could dictate.

The system of influence operates, in the disposal of offices, civil, military, naval and ecclesiastical, and in the legal security which gives value to promotion. It emanates from the Crown in a limited monarchy, and is the price which must be paid for universal freedom, to render it consistent with order;—if, indeed, that can be deemed a price, which is itself an acquisition and a benefit; which gives animation to the whole of public life; which calls up the talents of able men in every department of society; which provides rewards for merit and industry; and which joins the general and the particular interest in one indissoluble bond.

The system of influence is the introduction of rewards into the scheme of government, and gives that excellence to a constitution which many politicians have believed to be impracticable, asserting that punishments only were the instruments of human governments, and that civil rulers were naturally incompetent to a moral administration by rewards: And the advantage of the scheme flows, not merely, nor chiefly, from public remuneration, but from the influence of hope and confidence, and of the laudable ambition connected with public duty, which it nourishes in a thousand different departments.

To give effect to this system, which makes inclination and self love coincide with patriotism, it is absolutely necessary that situations of preferment should be rendered secure, and that the rewards assigned to merit, should be held under the protection of law. If by every blast of unpopularity, the best men should be exposed to ruin, and to be hurled from eminent stations into indigence and insignificance; if every thing like permanency is wrenched from the scale of fortune, the stability of a free government is gone, and the constitution itself is left unprotected and defenceless. The men who are most able to serve the public, and who have best served it, disappear from
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the scene of business ; and those who remain, reel onwards through rash and ill-concerted projects, and feel no steady and personal dependence upon the public prosperity. Mark now the state of France :--- What is become of all those men who stood foremost in the struggle of patriotism, when the old government was overthrown? Where is Fayette, Lameth, Barnave, Rochefoucault, and all the leaders who directed the first decisive measures, and bore up the country in the shock of the revolution? Some of them obliged to fly for their lives at the first change in popular opinion, and in the state of parties, are now pining in foreign prisons,---some lying in the dungeons of the provincial towns in France itself,---others stabbed in the public walks of Paris, or massacred in the jails of the country which they had laboured to save ; and all ruined and trode down, by various forms of violence, have disappeared from the scene. Nay, there is hardly a man of all those who were in the management of public affairs a year ago, who is not either slain or fled, or reduced to obscurity and oblivion. The whole names of the men in office or power, are new, are continually changing ; and, indeed, in the present state of affairs, there is not an office of public trust in all France, which in point of permanency is worth one months purchase ; not to mention the perils of such situations, where every servant of the nation, civil and military, goes through his functions with the musket levelled at his head.

Would our reformers wish to have another lesson on the personal consequences to the leaders, when a nation has been put in motion? Let them look back to the parallel case in the history of England, when the Hampdens, and Pym, the great band of patriots and heroes who stood forth for the liberties of their country, had broken the power of Charles, and had ripened the great cause as they thought, and seemed about to obtain those permanent limitations upon the monarchy, and those pledges of security in the hands
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of the people, which would guard their rights in future times. *The spirit which they had raised overworked their purpose.* A new party sprung forward, composed of dark republican independents, who scorned all moderate reform, drove the patriots off the stage, and overwhelmed them, the king, and the constitution, in one universal ruin, and set up the Dictator Cromwell, to tread on the neck of England.

The system of influence in a free state is the organization of the whole country for the protection of the constitution. The leaders of France had not time to form it, before they were borne down. They had been forced, in a moment of necessity, to reduce the national assembly to one chamber, and they had been induced in a moment of phrenzy, and of huzzaing, to suppress the titles and the order of nobility. They discovered the error, and meditated the reparation. But before stating the catastrophe which followed, let us consider calmly the degree in which an hereditary nobility, forming a branch of the Legislature, is of importance to a free state. I say in a free state, for in a government like Spain or Portugal, their importance is less, though even there it is considerable, and is beneficial to the country at large.

The sound patriots in the Long Parliament were sensible of the importance of the Upper House, as a branch of Legislature in a free state, though Cromwell thought otherwise, and reckoned his general officers a more effective intermediate board between the usurper and the people. As men of consequence and property, the nobles have a great stake in the country, and are interested in the preservation of the system, though they are removed from the immediate effect of popular influence. In England, they have on various occasions interposed in support of the laws and constitution, when endangered by precipitancy, or by irregularities, in the tide of popular opinion. In that House there are at all times a number of leading men, who by their own abilities and personal services, have
risen

rised from the rank of commoners, of various professions, and there are the heads of the law, all of whom made their own fortunes, and from their youth have been devoted to constitutional science; and there is in the wisdom and honour of the whole assembly, the safe balance of the political machine, which is felt in every great movement in public affairs.

There are two circumstances relative to the House of Peers, which are the great stumbling blocks to politicians of the size of Thomas Paine, who are able to look only at the surface of state arrangements. One is its hereditary character, and the other its apparent readiness to agree, in the course of business, with the Commons, and with the ministers of the Crown.

The hereditary character of the British nobility is established upon a different principle from the constitution of Noblesse in Spain, Germany, Poland, the old government of France, or any other state. On the Continent, the nobility has always been as a different race of men, separated from the Commons by immoveable barriers from generation to generation: the whole family possessing the title and right of Noblesse, like the Casts of the Gentoos, whose descendants are never to be detached from their respective tribes. Hence, in France, the Noblesse had extended to fifty thousand persons; and, in other countries, their numbers increase in the ratio of whole families transmitting their rank through all the ramifications of descent. Thus, nobility, in all these cases, is a nation within a nation, possessing separate interests from the people, and forming a real Patrician system on the unalterable claims of blood. This is the unqualified aristocracy which has a natural temptation to invade the rights of the Commons, and which feels no secular motive to guard their interests; and it was this situation, and the habits which it had formed, which rendered the Noblesse of France unfit to discharge the functions of an House of Peers, and to save the country

try at the revolution. They were too numerous to take their seats in their own right ; and, therefore, they behoved to sit in a representative character. And these representatives, and their constituents together, were a distinct race from the French people, whose fortunes the descendants of the nobles were never to share, either in their freedom or their sufferings.

Nobility in England, on the contrary, is hereditary only in the eldest branch ; it exists not in the child at all while his father lives. The British peer fees all his children commoners, in the same constitutional rank with the body of the people ; he knows that his whole family, (the eldest son excepted), together with all their descendants, are commoners and nothing more. By this provision, the two ranks are mixed in the intercourse of life, and united in a common interest. The numbers in the peerage do not increase by descent. The nobleman, who is a father of a family, is bound by more ties to the interest of the people, than to that of his own order : His sons become merchants, lawyers, soldiers, and sailors ; he gives his daughters in marriage to commoners, as readily as to lords ; and he is, in all respects, placed by the laws in that precise situation, in which his heart and his honour concur in leading him to act in his legislative trust, in the house of Peers, with a view to the public good, and to no other object.

The hereditary rank of the members is the best security to the nation, for the effective and steady exercise of its appropriated functions. Few public bills originate in that House : It acts in its usual course, as a grand council of controul, for the protection of the constitution ; and if schemes are ever brought forward, whether by ministerial or popular interest, which might be suspected to endanger the balance of the system, the nation has this security, that they cannot take effect till they have undergone the jealous scrutiny of an assembly of men, whose votes are pledged to the constitution by the ties of nature, and the ho-

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nours and interest of their children, and of their children's children.

The next ground of lamentation to the politicians of the clubs, is the usual concurrence of the Peers, with the Commons, and with the ministry in the course of business. Do these gentlemen of the new light then imagine, that the balance of a free government consists in a settled opposition of its parts? What was it that destroyed France in the first days of its revolution? It was, that the nobles were not prepared in principle to act cordially with the Commons in settling the arrangements of the kingdom. That, in a separate chamber, they would have thrown out every bill which might have been sent up to them from the third estate, and that the public business could not have gone forward: This was the hard circumstance of the times, which made the constitution vanish; but the British House of Peers is in the interest of the country, and second the progress of business in its proper course. Yes; but it supports the ministry; and so does the House of Commons. This, say the clubs, in their wisdom, is the worst of all: The nation is sacrificed. How! is it because its whole governing powers move in concert for the general interest? Because all the springs of authority in the empire act with the energy of union? The minister always enjoys the confidence of both Houses, for this plain reason, that without this he is no minister: It is the condition of his existence; the forfeiture of that confidence is the loss of his office; he acts at every step under the awe of the Constitution; he must frame his measures according to the principles of Parliament; they must be such as will abide the double scrutiny of the Houses; he must satisfy them, that he serves the public well, otherwise he serves it no longer. The checks in the British Constitution are provided in admirable wisdom, to give no embarrassment to the public service, but to present insurmountable barriers against any invasion of rights, from whatever quarter it might come. The

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influence of these checks is felt beyond the sphere of their visible operation, in preventing the very proposition, as well as the accomplishment of wrong; they make themselves respected in the framing of every bill, and in the shape of every motion. When, at any time, even the House of Commons has been led forward upon dangerous ground, the history of Parliament exhibits many instances in which the House of Peers have stood forth, the effective guardians of the public interest, and have merited and obtained the blessings of the nation.

The national advantages, in another point of view, which are derived from the institution of nobility, are perhaps not inferior even to the political security which results from their separate Legislative operations.

The access to that order, which the Constitution opens to eminent Commoners, who have merited well of their king and country, presents the most splendid recompence to important services. Generals of the army, admirals of the British fleet, distinguished statesmen, and sages of the law, see before them a great object, attainable by merit in their professions, and in the execution of their public trusts, which may call forth the utmost exertion of abilities, and reward their persevering efforts for the glory and benefit of the nation. Of this high promotion, the value consists in its hereditary character, by which the motives of parental affection, and of family honour, are brought with full operation into the line of public duty. This institution crowns the great system by which, in a free government, personal interest is more or less entwined with public obligations, through the whole body of civil society.

Pedants in philosophy, and half politicians, may point their satire against titles, and the badges of honorary distinctions, as they please; and may lament over the whole train of influence, which they ignorantly term corruption, because they do not distinguish

guish between a crime which tends to the dissolution of patriotism, and an arrangement which confirms and insures it ; and which is and must be the immediate bond of political union, and an essential spring of exertion to freemen ; but neither misplaced satire, nor complaints founded in ignorance, will alter the nature of things. The French have now twice attempted a government, without providing rational motives to secure the support of abilities in general concert ; and they have found, both times, that the vessel of the state cannot be navigated, when the crew despise discipline and subordination, when each man pulls against another, and none seem to know their proper stations. At times, indeed, when the storm rages, the urgency of the hour produces some united exertion ; but it lasts no longer than while the roar of the tempest drowns the voice of dissention.

The Constituent Assembly suppressed nobility, threw out the prizes from their scheme, undid the security of all promotion, and broke the bonds of public attachment. The few men of sense who were in the second Assembly, endeavoured, during last Summer, to repair the blunder, and to give a constitution to France. The thing was visibly in train ; but in proportion as they began to depart on one side from the constituent code, the republicans took higher ground against them ; and the constitution of the pamphlet was left without a friend. No motion had been as yet made to rescind it, but it lay wholly disregarded ; and no person in either of the two great parties, the clubs of the Jacobins or of the Feuillans, ever thought of pulling it out of his pocket (as Mr. Paine says men should do with constitutions), to settle any point in dispute.

There are but three modes in which mankind can be governed ; by power, by influence, or by principle. The most perfect government, is that in which they all meet ; but where they all are wanting, it is impossible that the government can stand.

We have seen that in the system formed by the National Assembly, there was a want of power and a want of influence. I now add,

III. That the government of France, under that Assembly, wanted *principle*.

Free governments require the steady exertion of patriotism through all the ranks of society, and ought to be constructed and managed on a system which can inspire and cherish this principle. Although patriotism requires to be seconded by the effect of influence, it is indispensable, as a distinct cause of prosperity, to a nation; it is moral virtue brought into the public service. Patriotism has the same relation to political influence which conscience bears to the laws of the land; which, far from opposing their operation, goes beyond what they can enjoin, in the scenes of private life, to promote the peace, the comfort, and the order of society. In the same manner, patriotism operates through a thousand channels in the great system, to which even influence cannot reach, and watches over the general interest with the vigilance and steadiness of moral sentiment. But to awaken, and to sustain the principle of patriotism in a people, it is necessary that the government itself should be established in rectitude; that it should be conducted in wisdom, and consecrated by religion. In any other views, what men sometimes call patriotism, is nothing else but party spirit or self interest, extending to a faction, which prompts to crimes rather than to virtuous actions, and is consistent with oppression, violence and injustice, towards all other men.

The French system, under the National Assembly, wanted the essential circumstances on which true patriotism can be ingrafted. There was moral evil in the principles of the cause, and its effects appeared daily, both within and without the walls of the Assembly. There was a furious intolerance towards all who were suspected of disapproving the measures of the day,

day, even towards the unarmed and peaceable citizens. The French were not satisfied with suppressing the titles and privileges of nobility ; but a man of rank, who held his peace, was not in safety on their streets, and the word aristocrate was a signal for assassination.

Besides, patriotism requires to be founded on esteem. There must be a consciousness of the value of the system to which it attaches itself, otherwise it should be a weakness instead of a virtue ; but the constitution, from the first moment, shewed itself unsuited to the exigencies of France. The judges and tribunals which it established were unable to bring delinquents to justice, or to keep the peace of the country. The mobs to-day insulted them, and to-morrow were employed by them as the only competent officers to execute their decrees. The Assembly passed from blunder to blunder, adopting all the motions which were made to them from all quarters, suffering their more moderate members to be menaced in their presence, and forced to fly their country ; they were visibly unequal to their business, and possessed neither dignity nor consistency. There was nothing here on which patriotism, as a rational principle, could lay hold.

Patriotism is the attribute of a free state, and cannot subsist without liberty ; and there has never as yet been any liberty in France. There was licentiousness in abundance, in the period to which we now advert ; but liberty, which implies first of all the safety and protection of innocent individuals, has never yet had the reign of a day in that kingdom. Men had licence, indeed, to murder, to rob, to burn and destroy. They might curse and harrangue all day long on one side of the question ; republican liberty permits this, and no more ; but a word or a laugh on the wrong side, met the instant reply of the pistol or the poignard. There is, to this hour, no liberty either of speech or of the press in France. Men who

are dissatisfied with the measures of the republic must put a seal on their lips ; and, should Mr. Paine presume to write pamphlets against their democracy, he would experience a brief prosecution, quite unincumbered with those legal forms of which he complains in England. Instead of the freedom of the press in the republic, the printing-presses have been carried off bodily from the houses of printers suspected of moderation.

Patriotism, as a moral principle attaching itself to political society, depends, like every other moral principle, on its relation to religion. The Creator of man has bound the social to the divine virtues, and made our devotion and our reverence to himself the groundwork of our duties to our brethren and to our country. Now, let the clubs tell us what is the religion of the French ? I speak not of the church of France ; on that topic I could indeed say something, both to their praise and to their blame. That, in augmenting the livings of the inferior clergy, and abridging the revenues of the higher,---that by the suppression of the orders of regular devotees, and throwing open the cells of the captives of superstition, they have done well ; and they will do yet better, when they connect the clergy with the country, by the legal permission of marriage to that class of citizens. But in effecting the arrangements already made, they have committed a thousand acts of injustice to the individuals, whom they have driven into exile, by tendering to them an oath which they could not take, and which the whole republicans of France have themselves now broken and disclaimed. And if they have tendered their oaths, without even professing to fear God, they have been absurd and unprincipled beyond any example in the history of man. But what is the religion of the French ? We do not judge the hearts of men ; it is their open and avowed professions of which we speak.

The

The principles of French licentiousness (for of liberty they know nothing) sprung from the mire of gross impiety ; and they have done with government what they had first done with religion : they have pulled down every thing, and built up nothing in its stead. They have broken the bonds both of sacred and civil duty ; they neither fear God, nor honour the king, nor regard man, and this they call philosophy. It is not rational philosophy, nor natural philosophy, nor moral philosophy ; it is an abuse of the name of science, while to science itself they have given a blow which it will not soon recover.

It is remarkable, that in all the scenes of peril and affliction through which the nation has for three years been led, the chastening hand of Providence has not been owned, nor has the name of the Monarch of the universe been publicly pronounced, unless in cursing, blasphemy, and profanation. They have even in public orders, prohibited their armies, after victory, to give thanks to God ; and have directed them, instead of retaining that practice, to sing the ballad of the Federates of Marseilles.

In the legislative assembly, an orator, declaring that liberty was his god, and that he owned no other God, was heard with the patience of approbation. Another member having introduced into his speech the word Providence, was called to order by the cry of *Point de Providence ! Point de Providence !* No Providence ! No Providence ! After this, it can hardly give additional surprise, that they introduced the name of our blessed Saviour with such bitter sarcasms of reproach and malediction, as a Christian even shudders to recollect. Let it suffice to say, that they were not surpassed by any of the speeches of the Jews when he stood before Pontius Pilate.

I do not mean to lay against a whole nation the charges of impiety and libertinism. No nation ever did, or ever will exist, under an universal dereliction of principle. There are unquestionably numbers of
excellent

excellent persons in France, who, in the walks of private life, are steady in the interests of religion and virtue. But it is an obvious fact, that the men of the infidel interest have assumed the lead in public affairs, and have borne down all before them; that they direct the national measures upon unprincipled plans; and that they have laid their country in ruins, by destroying the springs of patriotism, of subordination, of security, and of public confidence; by making licentiousness the characteristic of their politics, and by setting at defiance all the laws of justice, of humanity, and of God Almighty.

Mr. Paine affects to state a comparison in some points of government, between the French and British constitutions, in which he even pretends to find the advantage on the side of the former, and at the mention of each article, asks triumphantly, What will Mr. Burke or his friends place against this? He waves his tomohawk, and gives a general challenge on this field of comparison. If it were worth while to accept the challenge, I should meet him, not in the corners and alleys, where he skulks like his American Indians in a bush fight, but on the broad summit of the field, from whence the whole can be seen in its form, its colour, and its extent: and here I might take him up, either on the constitution which the National Assembly brought forth, or on the state of France in its new shape, if it is a shape, which it assumed on the 10th of August. Of the former, it has happened unluckily for Mr. Paine, that after he had written his two volumes filled with panegyric and admiration of its beauty, and perfection, and everlasting strength, and after giving a defiance to all England, to produce any thing like it under the sun, it has shewn itself to have been reared without cement, on the surface of the sand; and at the first gust of the storm, it has tumbled down in ruins. A very short trial shewed that it wanted the essence of government, and that it was wholly incompetent to any purpose whatever.

And

And what, cries Mr. Paine, will the advocates of Britain place against this? We place against it the secure possession of the very things which are wanting in France. The weight of a consolidated and united empire, the reign of the laws, holding supreme authority in Britain with that universal controul which is involved in universal protection: and the power of the Crown emanating from the centre of the constitution, which brings the whole public force to act with decisive effect, for the defence of the nation, and for the execution of the laws. We state the unlimited liberty of the people to do every thing which is either good or innocent, and the restrictions which prevent injuries and wrongs, and these only; that liberty which has elevated the souls, which has given force to the genius, and strength to the arms of Britons, and taught all Europe to look to this nation with reverence. We state the firm and impartial administration of justice, and the legal fences of property, which has produced general prosperity through all the channels of manufactures, cultivation, and commerce. We state the security attached to public employments, civil, military, naval, judicial and ecclesiastical, which places the men beyond the reach of the politics and passions of the day, and which binds all public life by ties, which are only subsidiary to public good, and public virtue. We state the direct operation of principle, in a situation in which patriotism rests on moral approbation: Where the justice and wisdom of the great system secures the esteem of the heart, and renders loyalty an obligation upon the conscience.

Here are the very stamina of a free government. In the room of all and every one of which, there appears nothing in France but a vast blank, either before or since the 10th of August. Thus we can discern how it happened, that the French constitution expired before it was thirteen months old. Just giving time to Mr. Paine to write two volumes in its

praise ; it dropped, because it was defective in vital principle, and was destitute of intellects. Its shadow on paper only remains, and even Paine will hardly have the forehead to hold it up in the Convention, and to say, Lo this is the perfect constitution to which all my volumes have been devoted, and whose unfading excellence I have proved to the conviction of the clubs of England.

During the course of last Summer, the two parties in France, the Jacobin club, and the club of the Feuillans, revolted from the printed constitution, in opposite directions. Both became satisfied that it was no better than a hypothesis of government, which was impracticable, useless, and a bundle of nonsense. The one party imagined that its inefficiency arose from its retaining the King as a part of the constitution. The other party held that the salvation of the country depended on giving some real strength to the Crown, and on establishing an upper chamber of assembly.

The club of the Feuillans, which consisted of all the most moderate men who took any share in the politics of France, wished to revert to the system which the Constituent Assembly had at first endeavoured to establish, and to recover the true constitution of a free state, nearly on the model of Britain. They wished to form a senate, composed of members who should hold a permanent situation, and which, in time, might ripen into a proper house of Peers : and to concentrate in the throne an efficient executive power. At one period their measures appeared to have acquired a great degree of public support, and of general popularity ; good citizens ventured to speak out, when the prospect of such a happy settlement of the national troubles was presented to their view. The Jacobins, who were furiously bent upon democracy, and the ruin of the throne, saw their danger, and formed an alliance with the mob of
the

the suburbs of Paris. They sent their agents over all the kingdom, and particularly to Marseilles, where republicanism had taken deep root, to procure an armed force, to second their arguments in the Assembly. Meanwhile, the violence of the parties, and the rumours of hostile preparations, excited general alarm; and in order to soothe it, the celebrated kissing scene took place in the National Assembly; when a member, in the simplicity of his heart, after deploring the presages of the times, proposed that the deputies should lay aside their strife, renounce both a republic, and the two chambers, and meet each other on the ground of the constitution, the proposition operated like enchantment; the opposite parties sprung from their seats, and with outstretched arms met each other on the floor. The motion was huzza'd and embraced into a decree. The king was introduced, and the Assembly, half dancing, and half crying, around him, hailed with acclamations, the Nation, the Law, and the King. But neither the tears, nor the kissing, nor the dancing of the Legislature, could save France. There was a want either of sincerity, or of sense, in this exhibition. The most charitable construction is, that it was a momentary effusion of good nature bordering on childishness; it had no consequences. The Jacobins continued their plots against the friends of public order, and the Federates were hastened from the south, to plead the republican cause. The moderate party justly alarmed, either fled for their lives, or held their peace; the National Assembly was reduced to insignificance; and the fate of the nation was left with the Jacobin club, the mob of the suburbs, the Federates of the South, and the abandoned prostitutes of Paris, who, armed with pikes, daggers and pistols, paraded the streets night and day. Of this great allied army, Pethion the mayor was the absolute commander. At midnight preceding the 10th of August, these forces were collected in arms, and put in motion towards the palace. Some hours elapsed before the storm burst, and the king had time to

fly with his family to the National Assembly. His guards were partly national guards of France, and partly a regiment of Swiss soldiers, all picked men, and the finest troops in Europe. This regiment had taken no part in the politics of the country; the king had now left them, and gone to the assembly, and there was no visible ground of quarrel between the people and them.

Nevertheless, the mob, from different quarters, began to fire upon them. They sent notice to the mayor of their situation; and the villain directed them to repel force by force, till they should be supported. At this time, the French guards drew off from the Swiss. Cannon, and cart loads of ammunition were brought up; the assailants advanced to the slaughter of innocent men, who, perceiving that they were destined to destruction by a concerted plan, determined to defend themselves to the last. The combat was long and bloody; the French fell in heaps, and were twice fairly repulsed; but new crowds advancing over their bodies, the Swiss were at last overpowered; they dropped in their ranks, and a small remnant made a kind of retreat towards the National Assembly and the main guard *. They were hunted through every place, and stabbed by the women in the lanes of the city; and such as were taken alive, were publicly beheaded on scaffolds, even the following day. Of the whole corps, hardly fifty men escaped. The storm was next turned towards every quarter where suspicion, dislike, or private revenge, might direct it; the streets of Paris resembled vast extended shambles, and the assassins were, at every step, treading on dead bodies, as they run to commit new murders. Such
was

* *Vide* Letter published in Holland by a surviving Swiss officer, and circulated through Europe in the newspapers of different nations; and the State-paper of remonstrance, from the Swiss confederacy to the French Assembly.

was the birth of liberty and equality, and the Republic in France.

The king was imprisoned, and the assembly, conscious that they wanted sense, as well as power, in the present exigence, called a new assembly under the name of a Convention. But some of the leaders of the Jacobins, and of the mob, were not yet fatiated with blood ; Marat and Roberſpierre eclipsed Pethion in the popular favour, because they were for a repetition of the scene ; and Pethion was satisfied with the past : He even hinted something about drawing a veil over it, instead of glorying in his success. Marat and Roberſpierre, therefore, obtained the confidence and the command of the allied forces, and led them to the charge on the 2d and 3d of September ; the prisons, at this time, were filled with many hundreds of persons, some of whom had been taken up by magistrates on suspicion, others hurried thither, at different times, by the mob. These retreats were first attacked. The criminal judges, made for the occasion, consisting of barbers apprentices, tradesmen in their aprons, and federate soldiers, conducted the trials in the halls, and, acquitting some, delivered the rest, one by one, to the killers, who attended these tribunals in troops, and who, bearing the unfortunate citizens to the streets, cut them down with their hangers ; and the acclamations of *vive la Nation*, from the multitude, went up to heaven, mingled with the shrieks and groans of expiring innocence. The National Assembly were guiltless ; but they found that they were not the Legislators of the day. They sent their deputies, in parties, over all Paris to stop the slaughter ; but their efforts were vain : The victims fell even in their arms. “ I went,” says Pethion, “ to the Hotel de
“ la Force, with my colleagues. I saw two officers
“ in their flashes : I then saw three men sitting quietly
“ at a table, with the gaoler’s book open before them,
“ calling over the prisoners. Other men, putting
“ questions to them ; others performing the offices
“ of

“ of juries and of judges, a dozen of executioners,
 “ with their arms naked and covered with gore ; some
 “ of them, with clubs in their hands, and others with
 “ hangers and cutlasses, streaming with blood, in-
 “ stantly executing the sentences pronounced.” To
 be in holy orders, to have been of the Noblesse, to
 have written or printed an unpopular article in a new-
 paper, were at the head of the list of capital crimes ;
 even men of fourscore years, and women, suspected
 of loyalty or aristocracy, were delivered up to the
 killers.

The massacre was tremendous :---From the pri-
 sons, it passed to private houses, and to the streets.
 A word from a Russian in the mob was sufficient to
 ruin the most worthy French citizen and his family.
 Neither wisdom and experience, nor youth and beau-
 ty, nor literature and genius, nor virtue and patrio-
 tism, could procure quarter or respite to the possess-
 ors : All was fury, brutality, and horror ; and so-
 ciety, as Mr. Paine would express it, was *reduced to*
its first principles.

In these two explosions of popular violence, France
 lost from 15,000 to 20,000 people, in absolute murder
 and assassination.

It was afterward recollected, that there were at Or-
 leans about fifty state prisoners, who had been sent
 to that city upon different accusations and suspicions ;
 and who had not yet been brought to trial. The Ja-
 cobin club, conceiving that the men of the 10th of
 August, and of the 3d of September, were the most
 active judges for a republic, sent for the prisoners :
 They were brought to Paris under a guard. Marat's
 judges accordingly met them without the city, and
 discussed their trials in a few minutes, by running
 them all through the body.

One of the first difficulties, which the Convention
 found in taking the management of France, was to
 save the prisoners, in the different towns, from mas-
 sacre. The mob, and even the national guard, were
 every

every where furiously bent upon the slaughter of the prisoners ; these unfortunate people had been confined, not for any crime, but on the mere suspicion of belonging to a party ; and it was afterwards found, that many staunch republicans had been hurried into the prisons, as well as the supposed friends of moderate government, and had shared the same fate ; but killing was the fashion of the times. The leaders of the Republican party were themselves most anxious to save one prison, that of the *temple*. It was, at one time, besieged by the mob, but defended by the guards within, when, by a most singular capitulation, it was agreed, that the Royal Family should be spared for the present ; but that the Princess de Lamballe, lady of honour to the Queen, the great friend and comforter of her and her children, should be delivered up to the people, who would not return to their homes without their amusement. She was accordingly dragged from the prison, and literally cut in pieces, with circumstances too shocking for expression ; and, in the wantonness of diabolical cruelty, her bloody head was sent up to the Queen, who was compelled to look upon it.

The parish priests who declined to conform to the new system, were the next objects of the vengeance of the republicans. Oaths were made the tests of conformity ; and they were annulled and varied with such rapidity, that the clergy knew not what ground to take. They sought to retire from France till the return of order and peace ; but their blood was the food of the republican cannibals. Many escaped, like state criminals, to England, to Germany, and to Switzerland. But a great proportion of that harmless body of men were assaulted in all the towns of France, and put to the bayonet. The monks, turned out of their monasteries, ignorant of the world and of all its politics, and staring at the novelty of their situation, which they could not comprehend, set out crowded in coaches towards the frontiers, not knowing whether

ther they went ; but in passing through the towns on their route, the carriages were surrounded, the travellers stabbed, their heads and limbs cut off, and the coaches ordered to drive on, loaded with the carcases and mangled flesh of these harmless votaries of superstition. Through all the towns of France, the public diversions consisted in processions, in which the heads of men slain without trial or accusation, were carried on the points of pikes, with the blood streaming on the clothes of the men and women who held them up to the view of the multitude, and who sung with proper merriment *ca ira*, and the song of Marseilles. The republic was suckled with blood, and in its cradle was delighted with no sound but the voice of murder.

The spirit of the French nation has, in every civil broil, been marked with a character which is atrocious and sanguinary; but the peculiar inhumanity and horror which it at present exhibits, it owes to the institution of a democratical republic, in which the words *liberty* and *equality* mean only riot and destruction.

The Cheik of the *Affassins*, a tribe of Arabs, from whom the term was derived into the languages of Europe, is well known in history by the designation of the Old Man of the Mountain. He kept a band of retainers, whom he sent out singly, with concealed daggers, to avenge his quarrels, by the murder of any individuals who had offended him. During a crusade, one of his people stabbed the Marquis of Montferrat in the Christian camp. The European commanders were struck with horror at this mode of hostility, unknown in any other nation ; but they were soon informed by a letter from the Cheik, that the Marquis had personally incurred his resentment ; that the other generals had nothing to fear from his emissaries ; that he had too much honour to resort to this expedient in war, he only used it in his private quarrels. In the National Assembly of France, August 26. 1792, *M. Jean*

de Brie rose, to make a motion for destroying the kings and generals who were fighting against the liberty of the nation. He proposed "to raise a corps of 1200 volunteers, who should bind themselves by an oath, to go and attack, individually and collectively, and by every possible means, the kings and generals now at war with France: These tyrannicides to be called, *Les douze cents*, The twelve hundred; and to be armed with poignards and pistols." The motion was adopted, and *passed into a decree*; and the Assembly proceeded to consider the pay to which these desperadoes should be entitled, when *Vergniaud*, and some others, requested that it might be sent to a committee for reconsideration, as such a measure would induce reprisals, and consequently give rise to a war of the most horrid kind. After long debate, the plan was sent to the committee; and was no more heard of. But, that the legislature of a great nation in Europe should have *passed a decree* so black and infamous, is amazing even in a republic, and beats the Old Man of the Mountain all to nothing.

A republic, say the philosophers of the new light, is the only government which secures the rights of man, and preserves a nation from wars. The reverse of this proposition is the real truth of the case. A republic is the only government among a civilized people in which there is no security to the rights of man, and in which the nation is never at peace. The exceptions which may occur to this observation, in some instances of republics, arise from peculiarities of situation, which will be noticed in their proper places. Come then, my countrymen! let us examine this question, and confront theory with experience. History is the instructor of the human race. The states of Greece were republics, and they exhibited incessant scenes of public hostility and of civil disorder. Athens, for instance, which stands foremost in every picture of Greece, was a nest of factions, conspiracies and violence

lence. To-day a party acquired the ascendant, and drove their rivals from the city : within a little, the exiles returned, with the change of the popular tide, and crushed their opponents in their turn. The best citizens were the first victims of every revolution, and revolutions were endless. To have served the country well, to have defeated its enemies, to have acquired public esteem, excited a jealousy which insured destruction. The democratic orators sprung like bulldogs on every victorious captain, and brought him to the ground. Even moral virtue could not escape them when it was eminent ; Socrates was *denounced* for being too good, and his fate was the genuine testimony of the spirit of a republic. The like jealousy of eminence, producing the death or exile of great generals and defenders of their country, appeared in all the other republics of Greece. The different states were at perpetual war. Nothing could unite them but a Persian invasion, threatening the overthrow of them all. Athens and Sparta, instead of the friendship and alliance in which Mr. Paine dreams that neighbouring republics must live, were irreconcilable foes, and rivals for predominance among the states ; and bringing the other cities to join their hostile standards, perpetuated through the whole country the calamities of war and bloodshed.

The Roman republic was equally distinguished for the commotions, violence and oppression of individuals, which characterised its interior situation, and for the injustice and violence with which it harraressed every neighbouring power ; making war and conquest its trade, giving the name of patriotism to mischief, and pursuing universal dominion, till it fell by its own weight, after many centuries, during which its sword had once only been sheathed.

Carthage the rival of Rome, was a commercial republic, but its history while it stood was the same in substance : marked by domestic atrocities and insatiable schemes of conquest. In these two powerful republics,

publics, was there ever such a proposition made as a league of friendship and alliance, to preserve the tranquillity of Europe and Africa? Each side knew that the genius of its system was incompatible with the very existence of its rival. Rome must be destroyed --- Carthage must be destroyed --- was the public language in the senates of the hostile powers. Hannibal in Italy had almost accomplished the vow of Carthage, when his merit and success, these unpardonable crimes, exciting jealousy and enmity against him at home, his supplies were cut off, and his enterprise was ruined by faction; by the true republican passions the great stake was lost, on which existence depended. Rome triumphed, and Carthage was swept from among the nations. Rome, indeed, in her conduct towards her rival, was cruel and unjust; but this also was in character, for a republic has neither justice nor mercy.

In the republic of Venice, the voice of liberty was never heard, nor dares any individual utter even a whisper on the conduct of public affairs; a stern aristocracy governs the nation in secret and jealous cabal; all is mystery and silence.

In the United Provinces, there is a confederacy of seven small republics. An Englishman in Holland is surprised at the abridgement of freedom both in speech and action, so unlike what he has known at home. The tyranny springs from the republican leaders; and it is only the power of the Stadtholder exerted on the side of the people, against the chiefs, which prevents these republics from becoming scenes of misery. Had the patriots as they were termed, prevailed in the last struggle against the house of Orange, the liberties of Holland such as they are, would have been extinguished.

Two instances will occur, as exceptions to some of the remarks which have now been made. The republics of Switzerland and of America. The Swiss cantons are thirteen small republics, situated in a

mountainous region, where the people, scattered in different valleys, are strangers to the habits which are formed by extended commerce and manufactures. They are not brought together in populous cities to give scope to the republican spirit in civil dissention : and their situation even from the origin of their government, in the midst of powerful kingdoms, has necessarily limited their views, and their politics, to self defence. Add to this, that the government in all the principal cantons, is aristocratical, especially in Berne, which, from its superior population and power, possesses a marked influence in the confederacy.

America is but nine years old, as an independent country, reckoning from the peace of 1783. It is not a republic, but thirteen different republics, confederated for their general interests. These states make a great figure on the map, in point of territory, but by much the greater part of it is wilderness. The whole population of this vast tract of continent is not equal to that of one half of England. The people are scattered over the country, where they have cut down the woods in patches ; they are farmers and planters who export their produce and raw materials from a few sea-port towns. They have no manufacturing towns, nor engagements of that sort, which produce great diversities of rank and fortune, which assemble mankind in cities, and require a firm government for the protection of liberty.

It is the opinion of men thoroughly acquainted with America, that even making allowance for all these peculiarities, it cannot go on long in its present political situation. The spirit of rivalry and enmity is abroad in the republics, the southern and northern states stand in fixed opposition to each other, in their views and affections,---they were brought together only by a common interest in war,---their union at this moment depends upon the life of a single man, the president of the states ; it is a bond monarchical in substance, though not in name, which holds America

rica in one body politic. At any rate, as soon as America shall become a manufacturing country, and a land of cities, one of two events must follow; either that the states must separate, and exhibit the vices, and experience the miseries, of republics in such circumstances; or they must resort to a mixed government, in which a monarchy, and a nobility, may consolidate and balance the political system. We are able to discern only two situations in the history of mankind, in which a republic can exist, without producing infinite contention and misery; the one is where the state is confined to a single city; the other, where it consists of a few people, thinly scattered over a country, and separated by woods or mountains.

The convention have now attempted the desperate experiment of making all France a vast democratical republic. The nation is already thrown down into that situation, and all thinking men behold with horror, the hand which is writing on the wall the notices of impending disasters, and of lengthened calamity to that great people. We have seen the bloody scenes which marked its commencement, and in its progress, it has shewn, that it is now a republic indeed; for the features are palpable and characteristic.

First, an assassin lays a plot to become dictator, to govern France with the sword of arbitrary power.

Next, the convention, terrified by the populace of Paris, propose to assemble around them a pretorian guard of chosen men from the provinces for their protection; but the leaders of the mob come to their bar with menaces of their vengeance, against both such guards and their employers.

Then, requisitions are poured in from the associations of districts, demanding the death of Louis, the head of the unfortunate family in the Temple prison; who never injured his country, and against whom no accusation had been even specified in words, and who by his own propositions for a reform in the constitution of France, was in fact the parent of the revolution

revolution. The convention have now indeed accused him in *words*, equally destitute of relevancy, and of common sense.

The history of the Grecian republics exhibits among many other evils, a principle in their jurisprudence, which strikes even every school-boy among us with astonishment. When a popular decree was passed in Athens, or any of the other states, it was frequently added as its sanction, that whoever should propose its repeal, should be punished with death. This direct infringement and abdication of the liberty of speech and argument, is the most abominable tyranny that can be conceived : it is now revived in the French convention, and can be dictated by nothing but the desperation of a bad conscience. In the fitting December 3d, Mr. Buzot rose, and observed, that there were several partizans of royalty in the convention, and suggested, that whoever should *propose* to re-establish that form of government in France, should be punished with death. Mr. Merlin proposed that this punishment should not extend to those who might speak in favour of royalty in the primary assemblies through the country of France. A vote of censure was called for against Merlin, and Buzot's motion passed into a decree. By this decree, France has directly trampled liberty under foot, and prohibited freedom of argument, and of making unpopular motions, under pain of death.

There is something in the nature of republics which has a direct tendency to check the freedom of speech and of debate in the legislative assembly. They are conscious of their danger of losing their best laws by a speech and a vote ; and therefore, when they are pleased with a law, they sometimes bind it with a halter. The Locrian orators, when they were to move the repeal of a law, used to come into the assembly with ropes around their necks, that they might shew their readiness to share the fate of their motions.

What shall we say to the decrees respecting the emigrants? These unfortunate people consist partly
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of men, who being pointed out as victims to the popular assassins, fled from their country at different periods since the revolution; partly of men who, disapproving the new measures, engaged in an attempt, with foreign aid, to rescue France from its misery and confusion; partly of ecclesiastics, who had no alternative but voluntary exile or death; and partly of great numbers of men, women, and children, who, unconnected with parties, but alarmed and intimidated at the scenes of disorder which affected their native land, sought retreats elsewhere, till the storm should blow over.---They are all condemned by one comprehensive decree of proscription, to the forfeiture of their inheritances, to the confiscation of goods, and to the pain of death, if they shall ever return. The love of plunder, and the merciless spirit of democracy, are the securities for the punctual execution of the decree. Why is it that, in civil troubles, fellow subjects of different principles renounce their mercy; and that the successful party, especially if it is republican, becomes finally implacable; and, while they will treat the subjects of an hostile nation, when taken in battle, as prisoners of war, blood alone can satisfy them in the case of their fellow-citizens? I am unable to resolve this problem; but I am humbled to the dust at the historical fact.

The republic has also shewed itself in its true colours in the treatment of its servants. General Montesquieu obeyed its orders with alacrity. He was denounced for being a gentleman, and was suspended. Before the intimation of the suspension, he was victorious, and the decree was recalled. A popular murmur afterwards arose against him, though without accusation or accuser. He knew that this was the death warrant, and fled his country to save his life. Dumourier has become too popular by success. His bills have been dishonoured, and his military chest left empty. The orators in the convention say he is too powerful for the safety of the state, and he stands on the
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the verge of proscription. The French can bestow no rewards on their servants. A republic does not admit an arrangement of wisdom and equity in this respect. It can only punish; promotion and consequence are held by the hour; and there is nothing permanent but ruin.

Pethion himself has now declared to the convention, that the affairs of France have been retrograde, instead of advancing, from the commencement of the revolution; and that the abilities and patriotism which led to that event have since disappeared.

Liberty and *equality* were the watch-words given to the republic; they were sanctioned by the convention, and huzza'd by the people. They were words of too great latitude for the millions of France; they have been construed to mean licentiousness and plunder. Liberty is wholly banished from France, and will never return till the regeneration of order. Equality has borne three different meanings among different descriptions of people; 1st, By the Constituent Assembly, it was understood to imply an equal participation of privileges, and an open access to office and employment, indiscriminately provided for all ranks of men: this was the good sense of the term. They had got a glimpse of the state of society which Englishmen have long enjoyed, in which protection is equal and universal; in which there is one law for the rich and for the poor; and in which a commoner might become minister of state, and the son of a country clergyman might, by merit alone, obtain the office of Chancellor of the kingdom. 2^d, Equality, as adopted by the National Convention, and given out anew as a watch-word, was meant to imply the abolition of all distinction of rank, excepting what was merely official; and was an arrangement which provided, that there should not be such a thing as a gentleman in all France, nor any designation but that of *citizen*. In Turkey, there are but two ranks; the sovereign and the slave. The French, disclaiming

disclaiming the former of these, resolved to reduce their nation, with this exception, to the standard of the Ottoman empire. 3d, Equality was a word equivocal, and exposed to the hazard of an interpretation to which the convention did not advert when they threw it among the multitude; an interpretation subversive of all public order, of the rights of property, and of moral justice, and incompatible with the very existence of civil society. The word operated with a magical power on people who were less critically skilled in the language of politics: With them it brought forward the ideas of levelling, and of dividing the spoil, like highwaymen after a robbery. The mob on the *Loire*, rose in arms, to the number of 15,000, to assert their own definition of equality, to pillage the farmers of their corn, and to *bring society to its first principles*. They almost murdered the commissioners whom the convention sent to give the critical interpretation of the term; and it is to be feared, that France has much yet to suffer from the ambiguity of this dangerous text, before the paraphrase shall happily gloss it over.

The sounds of liberty and equality, which each man interpreted in his own way, filled the armies of France, placed the democracy on its feet, and communicated to a vast system that republican impulse which is adverse to the peace of the world. A man is never so high, said Cromwell, as when he knows not whither he is going. Little did Condorcet know whither he was going in the cause which he was carrying forward, when he procured a vote of the Assembly against offensive war in all time coming. Such a resolution in a republican system is an absurdity. From the moment that France abolished its monarchy, it commenced its career of universal hostility, with a force proportioned to its immense population, and with the enthusiasm of a principle imperfectly understood, but deriving strength even from mystery. The rights of other states, moral justice, and the laws of

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nations, were trodden under foot. If a German prince had given their emigrants a lodging, his capital was stormed, and his territories laid under contribution. Nay, without any pretence of injury, and from the mere zeal of proselytism to the republican faith, they entered Savoy in force, took possession of a country where no hostile preparations were forming against them, and setting up something like a gibbet, which they termed the tree of liberty, procured the subscriptions of a few blackguards to a paper which they had dictated; and, on the authority of this deed, which was sustained as the act of a whole free people, making a surrender of their country, Savoy was, by the convention, solemnly united to France, as an eighty-fourth department. In the territory of Nice, and Villa Franca, they have repeated the like scenes, with the addition of murder and destruction to the peaceable inhabitants. Their Admiral Truguet landed at Oneglia, and burned the city, in order to reconcile the Piedmontese to republican principles. At this moment, they menace the coast of Italy, the kingdom of Spain, the principalities of Germany, the States of Holland, and turn a scowling eye towards the English Channel, muttering their purpose of evil.

The minds of the French are raised to the tone of fanaticism; the operation of the principle is the same, whether false religion or false politics inspire it; it is disease, the madness of the human mind, when it breaks the ties of reason, of order, and of subordination. There is a parallel case in the history of mankind. When the Arabians, intoxicated by the impostures of Mahomet, poured from their deserts, to convert the world to their new faith; when Khaled led his squadrons into Syria, when Amru Ebn Al-as over-run Egypt, and when Omar invaded the Persian empire, and assailed the throne of the descendant of Cyrus, they carried the crescent and the sabre as the instruments of conversion; as the advocates of democracy

cracy bear the cockade and the bayonet. The great difference in the cases consists, not in the principle, which is the proselyting zeal of fanaticism and party with both, but in the scenes of their respective operations. The Arabians found the Greek and Asiatic empires in a state of imbecillity and decline, but the French come upon Europe in its vigour, and must abide the terrible recoil of indignant nations.

Where now is the theory which presumes, that a Republic is the instrument of security to liberty, property, and the rights of man, and the pledge of everlasting peace ; and which proposes this expedient as the means of avoiding the oppression of individuals, as well as the expence and calamities of war ? The answer is not the opinion of any one man, but the concurring testimony of reason, history, and experience. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Two general observations will readily occur, as the result of the premises which have now been stated.

1st, It is impossible, in the nature of things, that France can remain in her present situation, and settle her government on the plan of a democratical Republic. How the scene of misery and confusion, in which she is plunged, will terminate, no man can foretell. Whether, crushed by the united force of Europe, which she has wantonly provoked against her, she shall fall as a state ; or, whether the French nation, groaning, as our ancestors did, under the scourge of Republican factions, and stung by the vipers of democracy, will restore their monarchy to arbitrary sway ; or whether, instructed by their sufferings, they may ever be able to unite in the plan of a limited monarchy, and obtain at last the blessing of a free Constitution, balanced and consolidated by the efficacy of the three estates, like the great prize which Britain drew at the Revolution, it is not for us to explore. The arrangement is in the womb of time ; but this we do know, that the French have not yet got sight of their Constitution, on which they are to find

rest ; that they have commenced the movement which they cannot stop, and must pass through the fire, (as we did in the Cromwellian times), till the nation is purified and restored to its standard by sufferings.

2d, The only Constitution, under which a great and populous nation can enjoy peace, comfort, and felicity, is that of a limited monarchy : it is under this government only, that the subject can sit in quiet under his own fig-tree, and where there is none to make him afraid. Where king and rulers, and judges, and magistrates, and people, and leaders of the people, are all under the same system of well-known laws ; and where equality, in respect of protection, and liberty attached to justice, are ascertained and guarded by the prompt administration which monarchy only can yield.

And I add with confidence, that a great nation, which aims at freedom, will miss its object, exactly in proportion as it departs from the principles of the British Constitution, which has been matured by the wisdom of ages, and the labours of enlightened patriots, in long succession. If France shall ever obtain a Constitution like this, let it know, that Providence shall then have bestowed on it the blessing of a favoured nation.

Let the philosophers of the clubs be heard now, in stating their list of objections to the theory and practice of government in Britain.

They say, that the crown is hereditary ; and, to expose this principle, Paine has lent them all his wit, and whole pages filled with ribbaldry. The office of first magistrate in the state, says he, ought to be elective : He forgot to mention who the real electors, in that case, should be. I shall supply that omission, and tell them, that the electors are the army, and the sword the qualification of the voter. In the Roman empire, the throne was, for a succession of reigns, filled in this mode of election : The Prætorian guards,
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on some occasions, and the troops of the Legions, in others, conducted the ceremony. The state was sold to the best bidder, or given to the best bruiser, or the most cunning flatterer, without regard to either talents or virtues ; and, in the event of a double return, the question was decided by arguments of steel ; and the deed of election sealed with the blood of the unsuccessful candidate and his partizans. In the republic of Poland, the first magistrate is elected by voters in arms, and in martial array : And it is but few months, since all England took a lively interest in the success of that unhappy people, when they made a great attempt to convert their Republic, with its Elective Head, into an hereditary and limited monarchy, arranged after the British model : And when they were brought back to their old system, by foreign force, the people of Britain pitied and lamented the ruin of that nation, and the best friends of liberty in this country were ready to give aid from their private fortunes, to preserve, had it been possible, that happiness to Poland, which she had held but for a moment within her eager grasp.

An hereditary monarchy is the only pledge of peace to a people ; it precludes the intrigues and ambition of the great families, and of any subjects whom such a prize might stimulate to every dangerous attempt. While, in a limited monarchy, like Britain, the separate Legislative interests of the Peers and Commons, and the checks within the Constitution, render it impossible for the Sovereign to injure the people, place the country without the range of dependence upon a personal character, and obviate completely those objections to hereditary sovereignty, which are of no force, unless as they may be applied to absolute governments and arbitrary power.

But why all this diversity of rank and fortune in Britain, say the men whose own fortunes are desperate, and who prefer speculations of plunder to the road of industry ? Because, in a free country, where
property

property is protected by law, men have acquired it, and are daily acquiring it, according to their industry, their talents, and the course of providence. And this diversity is of infinite advantage to every rank of life ; it holds society, united in the bonds of universal connection ; it is the very circumstance which enables the poor to find bread, which keeps alive exertion in every department, which creates the very state of prosperity, giving it a substantial existence, and which makes all manufactures flourish, as well as commerce, agriculture, and the arts ; while, by the nature and arrangements of society in this land of liberty, there is the fairest chance of success to every industrious youth, and honest man, which is to be found in any country on earth. Equality cannot subsist, unless where all are equally ruined ; nor can it any where be preserved without constant tyranny and oppression.

But why have we not all equal *power* ? Because it is not the will of God ; it is impossible in nature. In your own club, you are not all equal in power---you follow two or three leaders---even, in a mob, the people must place their confidence somewhere, and follow the directions of their chiefs. It is the law of Nature, that the many shall be governed by the few : and all the Conventions on earth cannot suppress its operation for a day---it is what must take place, both among themselves, and every where else---it is an arrangement of divine providence, and it is for good, and for the interest of the many.

The next great article of declamation to the orators of the clubs relates to the taxes, and the application of the public revenue. The revenue of this country is from sixteen to seventeen millions : Of which nine are applied to the payment of the interest of the National debt ; one to the diminution of the capital of the debt, five to the army, navy, ordnance, garrisons at home and abroad, and miscellaneous services ; and one to the civil list. The surplus, being applied according

cording to the wisdom of Parliament, either for paying off part of the capital of the debt, or for lessening the burden of taxes. Let us meet this great question fairly and openly, and discuss its various branches.

1st, The debt---It is generally supposed, that the National debt amounts to a sum greater than is convenient for a permanent load, and that its diminution, to a certain extent, would be advantageous to the country. Paine himself has not dared to propose, that the nation should deal unjustly by its creditors, and renounce its honour and its moral obligations; he was too cunning to expose himself so completely, before the whole commercial interest of Europe, which leans upon the British funds. He even acknowledges the advantages which the nation derives from its debt, and objects to paying it off; but declaims against the wars by which it has been accumulated, and attempts to throw the blame of these and of all wars upon the Monarchy. Monarchs, says he, makes a trade of war, as a pretence for taxation. Now, every well-informed man knows, that, both the war of 1755, and the American war, to which the great weight of our debt is to be ascribed, related to commercial objects---they were the wars of the Nation. Whether they were right or wrong, does not alter the case: The Nation was resolute in both wars. When the peace of 1763 was concluded, the people were offended; for they were successful, and they wanted to drub the French and Spaniards a little more.---In the American war, if the minister had proposed to give up the contest, and relinquish America, he would have been turned out with the National indignation, and another found who would carry it on. We must now confess the truth; it was our own doing---the passions of the people were roused; and to say, that if we had been Republicans, we would not have done so, is downright nonsense. War is the passion of Republics; they fly to the sword in the first instant of provocation, and often without any provocation at all; while limited monarchies

monarchies have no interest in wars, and the new taxes, which are required by these seasons of expence, must go, not to the public rulers, but to the public creditors

In limited monarchies, the Crown, and the ministers of the Crown, have a natural reluctance to war ; it is against the interest of the administration, as it necessarily infers financial difficulties, and renders a place in the cabinet peculiarly insecure : Hence the interest of ministers, as well as their public duty, induces them to labour for the preservation of peace, to do away by negotiation the grounds of misunderstanding with other nations, (which is effected, in many instances, besides those which come into public view), and never to resort to the sword, but when the honour or interest of the nation render a war unavoidable.

A funded debt, to a great extent, is an essential advantage to a commercial nation. The Exchange of London is the centre of the mercantile world, and there every trader finds a ready market for his money, in which he can dispose of it to advantage : And a market, for that commodity, is, to him, as necessary as for his sugars, his cotton, or his spices : The advantage is absolute ; but the burden of debt is not absolute : It is relative only, and depends on its proportion to the National capital, and to the profits of individuals in different lines of business. To state, as Paine does, the growth of the National debt since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and to begin to reason on the condition of the Nation from these *data* alone, is the same thing as to give an opinion on the state of a merchant's books, from examining the debit-side of his accounts, without adverting to the contents of the opposite pages.

The capital stock of Great Britain, which is employed in interior traffic, in the unrivalled manufactures of this nation, in the cultivation of the soil, or which is floating upon the ocean, or operating in every distant settlement, and procuring from every
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quarter, incessant remittances to the mother country, has advanced to a magnitude with which nothing in history can be compared; and has gone hand in hand with the national debt in its increase. Supposing a trader has a thousand pounds of stock, and an hundred pounds of debt, it is evident, that if in the course of business, his stock and his debt should both be doubled, his debt becomes a lighter burden than when he owed but half the sum.

2d. The annual million.---In the case of the British funds, the ablest financiers are of opinion, that the debt is greater than the exigencies of commerce require, and that a diminution prudently effected, would be advantageous to the public: To this purpose, one million of the revenue of the kingdom is appropriated. Paine has hardly dared to touch upon this arrangement farther than by a gibe, in which he terms it a delusion, and modestly hinting that it is below his notice, skips away to another topic. Perhaps to pay debt is below his notice; but to be satisfied in this particular arrangement, shall I bid you consult your banker or accountant? Consult, if you will, the schoolmaster of your parish, who is accustomed to arithmetical calculations, and you will learn with astonishment, the power of a given annual sum operating in the accelerated ratio of compound interest, to relieve any financial burden. The mode by which any individual may pay his debts, in a much shorter time than most men imagine, is by a fixed annual sum saved from his income, and sacredly applied to that purpose; besides the punctual payment of his interest. By this arrangement, his money produces the incredible effect of compound interest in his favour: He has every year the savings of the interest of the extinguished capital, to turn into the same channel, in addition to his annual sum, to pay off a greater proportion of his burdens; while his income is not further abridged by the operation. But Government, in acting upon this principle, enjoys besides all this, an advantage which is al-

together peculiar. The stocks are the sums which the nation owes: When it purchases stock therefore, it extinguishes the debt to the extent of the purchase. Now, the market price of stock is generally below the nominal amount, and the whole *difference* in this case is so much clear gain to the nation in the bargain. With such eminent wisdom is this plan of liquidation framed and conducted, that in seasons of distress or of apprehension, which produce the fall of the price of stock, the public mind is comforted by seeing the national debt then diminished with most extraordinary rapidity. And if even in seasons of war, the operation of the annual million should not be interrupted, it is obvious, that provided the supplies should be raised either by the year, or by temporary taxes, which in a few years might defray the expence incurred, without an increase of the funded debt, the reduction in such cases would proceed with the most decisive effect. Supposing the war price of the 3 per cents to be 60, the nation will then be paying off 100l. of its debt with every 60l. of its million, upon fair bargain, in open market, and without injury to any individual. The only objection which can occur to this statement, is, that this arrangement would in future wars prevent such a fall in the stocks as is here supposed, and as has in former wars taken place. But if so, what follows? That this system of which the annual million is the foundation, is constructed on such admirable principles, that while it produces a regular and accelerated reduction of the great debt, it bears up the national credit amidst all outward evils, and provides for the security and prosperity of the whole commercial system, even *flagrante bello*. Viewed on every side, therefore, it is a scheme of finance of unparalleled excellence.

3d, The national defence.---About five millions of the revenue are applied to the army, navy, ordnance, garrisons, and the whole system of national strength and defence, besides miscellaneous services at home
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and abroad, specially allowed and required by acts of parliament. All these things, says Mr. Paine, are of no use: Take the money, gentlemen, and share it among you as you can agree. The reason is, that you have now no foreign enemies. Since France has become a republic, she will never go to war any more. Make an alliance with her, and then let your two republics order Spain, Russia, Algiers, and all the nations on earth, to disband their armies, and disarm their fleets, and they will obey you*. Do you also disband and disarm; make a law that no men of war shall ever be built in any country whatever; your ships of the line may be turned into colliers and Greenlandmen: Your trade will then be wasted in safety on the ocean, and no enemy will dare to touch you when you are defenceless! The simple exposition of this project is its answer, and I will not affront my countrymen by supposing that any other is necessary,

4th, The civil list.---The last million of the revenue is applied to the civil government of the country. The history of the civil list, furnishes a fresh proof of the paternal attention of our gracious sovereign to the security and interest of his people. In the former reigns, the produce of certain branches of the revenue, the post-office, the rents of the remaining crown lands, and the other hereditary revenues of the crown, were appropriated to the King's household, judges, public servants, and civil government; but his present majesty, soon after his accession, signified his consent, that his own hereditary revenues should be disposed of, as might best conduce to the utility and satisfaction of the public. These revenues now, of course, make a part of the aggregate fund, and a limited sum for the civil government is granted, which is not equal in value to the present actual produce of the articles of revenue and estates so surrendered. And in

the disposal of the limited sum, the king's ministers are brought under the same parliamentary responsibility as in other branches of the national finance*.

The expences defrayed by the civil list, says Sir William Blackstone, "are those that in any shape relate to civil government: as the expences of the household; all salaries to officers of state, to the judges, and every of the king's servants; the appointments to foreign ambassadors; the maintenance of the queen and royal family; the king's private expences or privy purse; and other very numerous outgoings, as secret service money, pensions, and other bounties: which sometimes have so far exceeded the revenues appointed for that purpose, that application has been made to parliament to discharge the debts contracted on the civil list; as particularly in 1724, when one million was granted for that purpose by the statute 2. George I. c. 17."

Mr. Paine and his friends generally choose to overlook a distinction, though a pretty broad one, between the support of the whole civil government of the empire, and the personal expences of the Sovereign, to which a small part only of the civil list revenue is applied. Mr. Paine, when occasionally forced by his own arguments to advert to the expence of the *civil government* as the object of the civil list, states, in contrast to the expences of Britain in this article, that the whole civil government of America costs only 60,000l. To this I have only two objections, *viz.* that the statement is false in fact, and that it is nonsense in its application. It is a false statement, because the separate expences of the whole thirteen republics of North America are omitted, which would have amounted to an accumulated sum rather inconvenient for his argument; and he has given only the expence of the continental congress, which does not belong to the civil government of the states, but

* Vide Blackstone, vol. i. p. 330. and vol. iv. p. 433.

but to the federative government of the union. The members of congress are paid by day's wages: there are few of them compared to the members of the French convention, where, at 15s. *per* day each man, they cost the country 250,000l. Sterling *per annum*. His statement is nonsense in its application to Britain, a country fully inhabited, cultivated, manufacturing and commercial; a country of triple the population, and twenty times the wealth of all the thirteen republics put together.

But, there are sinecure places and pensions flowing from the civil list establishment.---This is the loudest note in the cry; because individual envy here mixes with political lamentation. The money which goes into these channels, is such an absolute trifle to this great nation, that no man who knows any thing of the subject can have even a rational motive of complaint. On the contrary, he will see great reason to approve, on public grounds, of these very sinecures and pensions, in the moderate extent in which they are found in Britain. To men who have spent the prime of their lives, and employed their talents in the service of their country, these institutions afford *otium cum dignitate* * in their declining years. In this view, the rewards are acts of justice. To others who, by literature, science, and the elegant arts, have improved the stock of human attainments, and advanced the celebrity of the British name, they are acts of wisdom, as well as of generosity. To others whom misfortune or adversity has visited, they are acts of mercy. What though, in some particular instances, they may have been bestowed on improper objects? Is not every Christian, in his private charities, liable to err in this distribution? Is he, for that reason, to desist from giving? Every arrangement in human affairs is unavoidably subject to partial abuse; but the effect of the places and pensions, moderate as they are, in the British system, is, on the whole case, more advantageous to

* An honourable repose.

to the nation than even to the objects of its bounty. It receives gold for its silver: and while it enables its rulers to shew the justice, wisdom, and mercy of the state, it brings forward all the talents, and inspires the alacrity and confidence by which its honour and interest may be most essentially promoted. The man who is spending his youth and strength in laborious or perilous service for the public good, is encouraged to persevere; and consoles himself by saying, "When I am old, my king and country will take care of me; or if I die, they will not leave my widow or my children destitute."

The Scotch reforming clubs brought forward the pension list of that country into the public newspapers. They meant, as they boasted, to expose a system of iniquity; but they knew neither the funds from which they were paid, nor the grounds of the particular selection of the pensioners. The pensions on the Scotch establishment are paid from the actual revenues of his Majesty, as King of Scotland, distinct from the national revenue, and which were not comprehended in the surrender above mentioned. They have in course accrued to the Kings of Great Britain. They are constitutionally in the disposal of the King; he may carry them wholly to England if he thinks fit. His Majesty disposes of a greater share of this revenue in Scotland than his predecessors had done; and this is the great grievance with the Scotch clubs.

The pension list, when published, was attentively perused by the nation, and produced an effect directly the reverse of that for which the publication was intended. The list met with an approbation which was heart-felt, and almost universal. It consisted of old servants of the public, who had held commands in the colonies; of men of letters, to whom not this country only, but all Europe, gives unqualified applause; of noble families whose fortunes are inadequate to their rank; and of a great number of women and children receiving the bounty of their Sovereign,

in various proportions, according to the real exigencies of their situations. Perhaps 1000*l.* or 1200*l.* of the whole sum might have been bestowed upon other objects, in preference to some of the names which appear on the list; and what then? All Scotland saw that the list had no relation to political purposes; and that, in the greater part, it was the record of the King's eleemosynary grants, which public spirit would blush to criticise. The publication was indelicate and cruel; but the list is confessedly honourable to the administration of this country.

But the nation is burdened with taxes.---The taxes are many; but whether they are a burden to the country or not, depends upon their proportion to its ability. If the wealth of those who pay, has increased in a degree equal, or superior to that of the taxation, the actual burden has not increased. The country must, at all events, pay the interest of its debt; it must pay for its defence, and it must pay for its civil government: It is to these purposes that the taxes are applied.

It is necessary, in order to judge at all of this subject, to consider, on whom the weight of the taxes falls. It is not on the dealer in the particular articles which are the objects of taxation: On the contrary, he raises his price higher than the extent of the tax, and becomes a gainer; and, as his profits increase, his workmen come in for their share, by an increase of their wages. It is not the country-labourer, the tradesman, or the mechanic, who suffers any thing by the taxes. He pays, perhaps, a third more for his shoes, his soap, and his candles, than these articles cost thirty years ago; but his own wages are more than doubled, through the same causes which occasion the taxes: He receives twenty pounds for the same quantity of work, or of time, which would then have yielded only eight or ten; he is in much better circumstances upon the whole account, and the change is visible in his family; his house is now neat and comfortable; his wife has her sugar and tea, his children are better clothed, bet-
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ter fed, and are educated more completely, than he himself was, or could be, upon his father's income. These are the very features of a growing National prosperity.

Much less, can the taxes be said to fall upon those men who are the operative hands in the various manufactures of this country : They pay, as others do, the increased price on many articles, which they buy ; but they are substantial gainers, through the great plan of which the taxes are a part. The market and demand for their goods is rendered even greater than they can answer, and their pay is, of course, raised to a pitch, which, in many instances, is, in truth, hurtful to themselves : It is in these situations, that the labour of three or four days can support not only the whole necessary expences of the week, but even the dissipation in which the remainder of the time is, unfortunately, too often wasted.

The most unaccountable circumstance, in the state of this country, is, that the most thriving towns and villages are the scenes of those murmurs which Paine and his clubs have been able to excite, and that the very men on whom wealth is flowing, in consequence of the political system of Britain, and from no other cause, should suffer themselves to be duped by an advocate of mischief, who laughed in his sleeve, when he repeated all the popular rant, about ministers, and the pride of the great, and taxes, and burdens upon the labourer : These things were not said from ignorance of the real truth of the case, but from deliberate malice to this country.

The effect of the taxes has been to raise the profits of every profession. They are chiefly paid by the rich : The heavier taxes are laid immediately on the rich, and they relieve the poor of their whole share of the others, as they are the employers of the poor, and must advance their payments at or beyond the increased price of the necessaries which the people must buy ; and in these, all their taxes are included. It is demonstrable,

demonstrable, that no labourer, mechanic, or industrious man, in any trade, in this country, loses one farthing by all the taxes of the nation: For what he pays away in taxes with one hand, he is receiving with the other from his employer, over and above what he would otherwise have drawn; he is even receiving more. Taxes are premiums to industry---Nay it is impossible that taxation can ever bring any burden on the classes of persons now mentioned. Although the taxes should all be doubled or tripled, still the same thing would take place; wages and prices of work would instantly start to a height corresponding to the prices of necessaries; society would resume its level, and industry produce its clear gains as great as ever. The plain state of the case is this, that, if we except landholders, and such persons as live upon fixed annuities, the taxes are, in fact, no burden at all to individuals; they are even the reverse: For so wonderfully is the whole system of political economy constructed and balanced in this happy country, that its taxes have, in a great extent, operated the general diffusion of wealth, of increased profits, and of unexampled prosperity, in all the branches of business.

There is yet another article, in Mr. Paine's account, to be settled. The 5th chapter of his second volume is the formal proposition of a scheme, so unprincipled, as to surpass any thing that is to be found in the History of the Buccaneers of America. It is an advertisement for general pillage, and for a division, by scramble, of the revenues of Britain. It is founded upon the supposition of the peaceful alliance of the French and British Republics, and of the obedience of all nations to their orders, of dismantling their ships, and disbanding their armies. When all nations have done, as desired, of which, it seems, there is no doubt, then we are to have no more fleets, or armies, or implements of defence, and the money is to be laid out on a new scheme of finance: Which whole scheme he sums up in

1. The abolition of two millions of poor-rates.
2. Provision for 252,000 poor families.
3. Education for 1,030,000 children.
4. Provision for 140,000 aged persons.
5. Donation, 20 shillings each, for 50,000 births.
6. Donation, 20 shillings each, for 20,000 marriages.
7. Allowance of 20,000 l. for funeral expences of workmen.
8. Employment for the poor of London and Westminster.

The most provoking circumstance in this plan, is the affront offered to your understandings, in the supposition that any of you were to be taken in by such a silly and obvious bubble. He was fishing with the fly, but he thought he had so muddied the waters, that you would swallow it before you should discover the hook: He knew that his scheme was impracticable in any nation on earth; that Republics, especially, are as destitute of charity, as they are of gratitude: That Britons possess both these virtues, under their present government; and, particularly, that the relief of indigence, both on schemes of public institution, and by that liberal bounty of individuals, which is inspired by the national felicity, exceeds in this country what has ever elsewhere been known; but he trusted that you would not sift the matter too nearly, nor trouble him with cross questions. We shall, however, hint one or two which might be put.

Who are to take the management of this new poor's rate, formed out of the ruins of the army, and navy, and constitution? Fear nothing, good people, those gentlemen of the clubs, who have already made use of their *liberty*, to reduce themselves to *equality*, will shew sufficient prudence and integrity in dividing the spoil. And where is all this annual revenue to be procured, when the whole springs of wealth, the commerce, and manufactures of Britain are broken in the wrecks of the constitution? This difficulty is prudently

ly omitted, because, to have mentioned it, would have spoiled the whole speculation.

The pages which Paine has covered with figures, and pretended calculations on this scheme, are blotted with matter the most flagitious that was ever committed to paper. It is that master corruption by which the poor are to be bribed to part with their all, and then to be cheated out of the bribe. It is the devil's bargain (according to the tale of the nursery), in driving which, he shews an heap of gold, as the hire for entering his service; and when the wretch whom he is tempting, is persuaded to sign the contract with drops of his own blood, and grasps the treasure, it falls down in his hands into ashes and brimstone.

Thus I take leave of Thomas Paine, and of his works.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

This nation has now, for above an hundred years, enjoyed an uninterrupted course of public felicity, such as the history of mankind has no where else exhibited. It has risen to greatness by the strength and energy of its constitution: a system which philosophy is proud to trace through all its springs of operation; where each part is nicely adjusted to the production of the great object for which it is constructed,---the happiness of the people. Liberty, security, strength of character, humanity, learning, wealth and peace, are the blessings which it yields to us and ours; and by which, approving Providence has ratified the deed of our ancestors in the Revolution settlement. This great system was then finally guarded against the encroachments of power, without being arrested in the progress of improvement. We have enjoyed a race of sovereigns, attached, from principle, to liberty and the laws; and he who now wears the crown of these
realms

réalms, has a claim, which even faction cannot contest, to that most dignified of all appellations, The Father of his People. His piety to God, his domestic virtues, his strict decorum of manners, oblige us to add to our allegiance the tribute of our esteem; while his reverence for the laws, his proved attachment to the cause of freedom, and his inviolable fidelity to the constitution, render our loyalty to the monarch the pledge of security to our rights.

It is one of the excellencies of the British constitution, that it is calculated to form the public character of the Sovereign; to make him love it, to associate inseparably in his mind the ideas of prerogative and of privilege, instead of ever beholding them in contrast; and to cherish in his heart the sole ambition of leading freemen under the banners of law.

The happy state of man in political society, is under limited monarchy---mixed government---the British constitution.



F I N I S.